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The Decided Policy of William Lyon Mackenzie

LILLIAN F. GATES

THE REBELLION OF 1837 in the province of Upper Canada came as the climax of a long period of provincial discontent, the origin of which can be traced back, if not to the very beginning of the colony, at least to 1800. This dissatisfaction, originating in the land regulations of Lieutenant-Governor Hunter, deepened during the administration of his successor. The radical or pro-American party, to use a term with which it was found convenient to smear it, received a temporary setback during the War of 1812. It regained strength in 1817 and 1818 during the controversies over the admission of American settlers. Until 1821 the radicals were led by Robert Nichol who endeavoured to have placemen excluded from the Assembly and to win for that body control of the provincial revenues. After Nichol's retirement from politics, the cause of reform was upheld by William Lyon Mackenzie, the editor and publisher of the *Colonial Advocate* and subsequently of the *Constitution*. Mackenzie, although the leader of the rebellion and the most radical of the reformers, did not dominate his party nor could he always carry it along his road.

During the decade preceding the rebellion, Mackenzie advocated numerous reforms relating to the land system, the banking system, the customs dues, the heavy legal fees, the method of selecting juries, the powers of the appointed justices of the peace and sheriffs, the postal service, the activities of Orangemen, the school system, the Clergy Reserves, the granting of corporate privileges, the composition of the Legislative Council, open voting, and the appropriation of the public revenues.¹ This wide range of interests on Mackenzie's part has caused him to be disparaged as a reformer. It has also enabled some who have taken him more seriously to maintain that he drew his

¹*Colonial Advocate*, May 18, 28, Dec. 28, 1826; *National Gazette and Literary Register of Philadelphia*, June 15, 1829.

inspiration from the English radicals and others to regard him as the expression of Jacksonian democracy in Upper Canada. It has been said that, unlike Gourlay and land policy, Bidwell and the alien question, Ryerson and the Clergy Reserves, Baldwin and responsible government, Mackenzie never succeeded in taking the leadership on any prominent issue nor had he throughout his life a "decided" policy.²

Mackenzie agitated on many subjects and it has to be admitted that he changed his mind on some of them, but it is unfair to dismiss him as a chattering agitator without any overall conceptions and unable to make good use of the facts he unearthed. He came to see that Upper Canada did not in reality enjoy the image and transcript of the British constitution and that, in any event, British political institutions could not be successfully transplanted unmodified to a frontier society with a very different social structure. The political changes he proposed reveal, as R. A. McKay has pointed out, the influence of American political ideas.³ Mackenzie, however, was as much—or even more—concerned over the developing economy of Upper Canada as over its political institutions. In his opinion the real wealth of the country was being created by the labour of the settlers and he wanted to safeguard it for them, both in the form of improved properties of their own and in increasingly valuable public land.

On more than one occasion Mackenzie stated bluntly, "labour is the source of all wealth."⁴ In this he may have been influenced by Lord Lauderdale's *Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth* which we know he had read.⁵ Lauderdale put this idea in ampler terms more acceptable to the economist;⁶ Mackenzie reduced it to a slogan easily quoted, easily remembered, and, for that matter, in common use on both sides of the Atlantic in his day. But he did not need to follow the noble lord through his theoretical disquisitions to reach this economic principle; he could learn it from every stump-dotted field and clearing in Upper Canada. His ideal society was one which secured for every man the greatest possible quantity of the product of his own labour, and denied existence to any privileged political, religious, or economic interests, who might steal from him.⁷

Mackenzie's guiding idea was that the province should be a com-

²Aileen Dunham, *Political Unrest in Upper Canada, 1815-1836*, published for the Royal Colonial Institute, Imperial Studies, no. 1 (London, 1927), 106.

³R. A. MacKay, "The Political Ideas of William Lyon Mackenzie," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, III (Feb., 1937), 1-22.

⁴Constitution, May 24, Nov. 15, 1837.

⁵Charles Lindsey, *The Life and Times of William Lyon Mackenzie* (2 vols. bound in 1, Toronto, 1862), II, 310.

⁶James Maitland, Eighth Earl of Lauderdale, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth* (Edinburgh, 1804), chap. III.

⁷Colonial Advocate, July 13, 1830.

munity of simple living, hard working, frugal, independent farmers served by honest merchants, craftsmen, small manufacturers, township schools, an honest legislature, and a free press; in short an educated and largely agrarian democracy.⁸ Like other reformers he criticized the land department for inefficiency and favouritism,⁹ demanded the regulation of the Crown lands by statute,¹⁰ and denounced Lieutenant-Governor Head's misuse of the land department during the elections of 1836.¹¹ But he advocated no one panacea. He opposed all policies that made the going hard for the pioneer farmer and he realized that reform in the land system, after so much of the best land had already passed into private hands, would not alone create the simple equalitarian society he favoured. By the 1830's Mackenzie had come to fear that a turning point had been reached in the economic development of Upper Canada and that many forces were at work which, if unchecked, would prevent the realization of his dreams. What he wrote on the Canada Land Company, on internal improvements, and above all on banking and currency problems sprang from his convictions on this point and ought to clear him of the charge of having no "decided" policy.

The Canada Land Company had been chartered by the Imperial Government in 1826 and allowed to purchase about two million acres of land in Upper Canada. Mackenzie, who was favourable to the company while it was under the management of John Galt and when the manner in which its payments were to be utilized was still unknown, became its foremost critic.¹² William Hamilton Merritt attributed the position Mackenzie acquired to his opposition to the Canada Company and remarked that the elections of 1828 were in progress just at the time the company was notifying squatters to vacate its lands.¹³ Mackenzie denounced the company's treatment of its debtors, its failure to live up to its charter, its tax privileges, and what he regarded as its pernicious effect upon the political and economic life of the province, and advocated the revocation of the company's charter.¹⁴ What answer was there to the vigorous complaint voiced by the Canadian Alliance, of which he was secretary, that the Canadian farmer had been burdened

⁸*Constitution*, Jan. 4, 1837.

⁹*Correspondent and Advocate*, Dec. 24, 1834; *Colonial Advocate*, March 2, 1826.

¹⁰*Constitution*, Aug. 17, 1836; C. B. Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson, His Life and Letters* (2 vols., Toronto, 1937, 1947), I, 344.

¹¹*Constitution*, July 19, 27, Aug. 3, 17, Dec. 7, 1836.

¹²*Colonial Advocate*, Feb. 7, May 28, 1828.

¹³Jedediah Prendergast Merritt, *Biography of the Hon. William Hamilton Merritt, M.P.* (St. Catharines, Ont., 1875), 113-14.

¹⁴Sissons, *Egerton Ryerson*, I, 344; *Correspondent and Advocate*, Dec. 24, 1834; *Colonial Advocate*, July 23, 1830; *Constitution*, Aug. 8, 1837.

with a salt tax to pay for losses sustained in a war "to preserve the public lands for the use of a junto of monopolists in Europe and from the grasp of an enemy who would have sold them to the people at a dollar an acre and then applied that dollar to improve the lands thus sold them?"¹⁵

One of the criticisms of the Canada Company made in the Seventh Report on Grievances was that the company had failed to introduce capital into the country and that its improvements had been made by the labour of the settlers, who were paid for their work chiefly in land sold them at a price much above what the company had paid the Crown. Mackenzie did not criticize the payment of reasonable returns to capital which contributed to the development of the province. What he objected to was speculative and monopoly profits.¹⁶

The existing wild land tax was not, in Mackenzie's opinion, an adequate check on land speculation. The Canada Company enjoyed a special tax privilege. Two million acres had been reserved for the company to be purchased, and patented, by instalments over fifteen years. Only the land patented to the company was liable to taxation, yet the ordinary purchaser of land on credit became liable for the taxes on the entire property for which he had contracted.¹⁷ The Clergy Reserves formed another body of untaxed land made valuable by the labour of the whole community but reserved for the benefit of a minority. Moreover, under existing law, all wild lands were assessed and taxed at the same rate without respect to their situation or value.¹⁸ On this point, despite Sydenham's efforts, reform was not to be achieved until 1851.

Mackenzie was opposed to the sale of land on credit either by the government or by the Canada Company because the system tempted men to buy more land than they could utilize at prices higher than would otherwise be demanded. Also, it left them burdened with interest payments and saddled with debts which in periods of declining prices they were unable to pay. Far from assisting men to become owners of property, the credit system prevented it and caused them to lose the fruits of years of labour. Half at least of the original purchasers, he predicted, would fail to fulfill their agreements with the company. The government ought not to have sold a large quantity of land to a group of speculators like the Canada Company, argued Mackenzie. It ought either to have provided poor immigrants with free land or with employment on public works from which they could earn and save enough to enable them to take up land without running

¹⁵*Correspondent and Advocate*, Dec. 24, 1834.

¹⁶*Constitution*, Aug. 17, 1836, Sept. 27, 1837.

¹⁷*Correspondent and Advocate*, March 12, May 22, 1835.

¹⁸*Constitution*, Aug. 26, 1836.

into debt.¹⁹ "To entice a poor man to enter upon a wilderness lot burthened with a debt upon interest, which he cannot reasonably be expected to pay, is neither more nor less than to be accessory to his ruin. Not one in ten of the poor settlers can support a family and raise the money within the time limited."²⁰ The draft constitution for Upper Canada drawn up by Mackenzie and his followers shortly before the rebellion provided that all Canada Company land that had not been sold to settlers should be resumed by the state,²¹ and during the rebellion Mackenzie made a direct appeal to purchasers of Canada Company land to become his supporters by promising them free title to their lots.²²

To the country merchants Mackenzie pointed out the importance of placing purchasing power in the hands of the settlers and he tried to convince them that their own interests were not served by a system which impoverished the settlers for the benefit of the Canada Company, the Clergy Reserve fund, or private speculators.²³ It may seem that Mackenzie was simply interested in checking the flow of specie from the province but, taught by Lauderdale, he may also have understood the fructifying effects upon the development of a nation's economy of widely distributed purchasing power. "A proper distribution of wealth," wrote Lauderdale, "insures the increase of opulence by sustaining a regular progressive demand in the home market."²⁴

Mackenzie's opposition to internal improvements was based on the same considerations. He recognized the value of internal improvements to the farmer and favoured the improvement of the St. Lawrence from the lakes to the sea, in conjunction with Lower Canada, even if the province had to go into debt to do so.²⁵ The Welland Canal, however, was not part of a planned lakes-to-sea project. It was, in Mackenzie's opinion, "a job, prematurely gone into for the advantage of a few officers of this government, legislative councillors and speculators in waste lands."²⁶ Mackenzie was opposed to financing harbours, roads, or canals by tolls which came directly out of the pockets of the resident settlers; by grants out of provincial resources which were raised chiefly by customs dues; or by loans which "plundered the unborn," when the result would be to assist private monopolies or to give increased value

¹⁹*Colonial Advocate*, Feb. 7, 1828; *Correspondent and Advocate*, Dec. 4, 1834.

²⁰Letter to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle* of London, England, signed "A Volunteer" and reprinted in the *Colonial Advocate*, Dec. 6, 1832. The writer may well have been Mackenzie himself.

²¹*Constitution*, Nov. 15, 1837.

²²*Report of the Committee of the Legislative Council of Upper Canada on the State of the Province* (Toronto, 1838), 451.

²³*Constitution*, Aug. 23, 1837.

²⁴Lauderdale, *Inquiry into the Origin of Wealth*, 284, 349.

²⁵Lindsey, *Life of Mackenzie*, I, 172.

²⁶*Ibid.*, II, 228.

at public expense to the wild lands of speculators.²⁷ The phrase quoted, and much besides, was taken by Mackenzie from a letter of Samuel Young of Ballston Spa, New York, in which the latter declined the Loco-Foco nomination for Governor of New York.²⁸ Young was opposed to government assistance to private enterprise and he feared the corrupting effect on the people's representatives of the power to grant special privileges by charters of incorporation.²⁹ Mackenzie was particularly incensed by proposals to assist private harbour, canal, or railroad companies by grants or loans out of the public revenues because in Upper Canada the revenue from the Crown lands which might have enabled the province itself to undertake internal improvements was controlled not by the legislature but by the Crown. The Colonial Office utilized this revenue to pay pensions and salaries, and to prevent the provincial executive from becoming dependent upon money granted by the Assembly.³⁰

Mackenzie made the Bank of Upper Canada the subject of frequent diatribes. Here again he was not merely hopping from one grievance to another. His views on banking developed gradually and became an integral part of his plan for making Upper Canada a society of prosperous small farmers and tradesmen. To begin with, he was opposed to the bank on account of its monopoly position and the political influence and economic pressure it could exert.³¹ Others shared Mackenzie's sentiments and wanted to create additional district banks to break the monopoly of an institution which was able to declare a dividend of 26 per cent in 1832 and which, according to Bonnycastle, "at all times made a dividend which is almost incredible."³² The unpopularity of the bank with farmers and small merchants was intensified when, in July 1833, it announced that notes would not be renewed in future unless an instalment of one-third had been paid instead of one-fifth or one-quarter of the debt as had formerly been the case.³³ Mackenzie opposed the popular remedy: more banks and more paper money.

²⁷*Constitution*, Aug. 17, 1836.

²⁸F. Byrdsall, *The History of the Loco-Foco or Equal Rights Party, its Movements, Conventions and Proceedings, with Sketches of its Prominent Men* (New York, 1842), 64.

²⁹Joseph Dorfman, *The Economic Mind in American Civilization* (2 vols., New York, 1946), II, 522-6.

³⁰*Constitution*, Aug. 26, 1836.

³¹*Colonial Advocate*, May 18, 1830; William Lyon Mackenzie, *Sketches of Canada and the United States* (London, 1833), 170, 455.

³²Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841* (2 vols., London, 1841), I, 187. So eager were investors to get in on a good thing that the premium paid for new stock offered in 1832 enabled the bank to pay its original shareholders a bonus of 18 per cent in addition to the regular dividend of 8 per cent (Roeliff Morton Breckenridge, *The Canadian Banking System, 1817-1890*, Publications of the American Economic Association, X (New York, 1895), 67).

³³*Niagara Gleaner*, Aug. 31, Sept. 14, 1833; *Canadian Correspondent*, Sept. 28, 1833.

What Mackenzie objected to was not private banks but chartered banks with note issuing privileges.³⁴ Over and over again he emphasized that the paper money of the banks was not wealth. Labour alone could create wealth and the real wealth of the country created by its resident settlers was, he believed, passing into the hands of those connected with the Bank of Upper Canada which had done nothing but emit paper money. He wanted no more such institutions.³⁵ It seemed to Mackenzie iniquitous that chartered banks should be allowed to hold deposits, government or private, without paying interest on them, and to issue paper money when the shareholders were liable for the obligations of the banks only to the extent of their investments, instead of being fully liable for their debts as individuals and unincorporated enterprises were.³⁶ What Mackenzie advocated was the Scottish system of banking under which the liability of stockholders was unlimited. He found, however, that only a minority of the reformers of Upper Canada shared his hostility to chartered banks. Therefore, as he subsequently explained, "I tried to improve what I could not oppose."³⁷

Mackenzie's ideas on bank regulation are to be found in his *Sketches* and in the report of the Committee on Banking and Currency of 1831 of which he had been chairman. This committee acknowledged the advantages of paper money provided the public was safeguarded against its becoming depreciated and it recognized that in Upper Canada it would be wiser to regulate chartered banks carefully than to rely on the principle of unlimited liability.³⁸ No general act for this purpose was obtained from the 1831 session of the legislature, however. At Mackenzie's instigation, the Imperial government threatened to disallow the bank acts passed during the next session unless changes were made in them. The British Treasury wished future bills for chartering banks to require the making of bank statements and the redemption of bank notes at the place of issue as well as at the head office, to limit the amount of loans that could be made to shareholders and directors, and to impose on shareholders a liability double the amount of their investment. These proposals gave Mackenzie satisfaction but they aroused resentment and near disloyalty in the breasts of

³⁴Colonial Advocate, Feb. 25, 1830, Jan. 4, Dec. 21, 1833.

³⁵Ibid., Sept. 16, 23, 1830.

³⁶Lindsey, *Life of Mackenzie*, I, 168; Mackenzie, *Sketches*, 455-7. Mackenzie's suspicious attitude towards chartered banks extended to other limited liability corporations, particularly the Upper Canada Assurance Company (*Correspondent and Advocate*, March 19, 26, 1835).

³⁷Public Archives of Canada, Miscellaneous, Mackenzie Letters, I, 1839-59, Mackenzie to the Rev. Mr. Carter, June 8, 1839.

³⁸Mackenzie, *Sketches*, 455-7; Colonial Advocate, Feb. 11, 1831.

the members of the Family Compact connected with the Bank of Upper Canada and the new Commercial Bank.³⁹ But it was not only the Tories who objected to the interference of the Treasury and to its ideas on bank charters. Prevailing sentiment in Upper Canada was for more banks and more paper money. An address of the Assembly asking that the Treasury refrain from interfering with the bank acts, which had already gone into force, was passed by a vote of thirty in a house of thirty-one.⁴⁰ In the end the acts were neither amended nor disallowed.

Mackenzie's subsequent attempts to obtain a general act for the regulation of chartered banks were unsuccessful. His fellow reformers were ready enough to charter additional banks, but they would not accept his proposed restrictions on the activities of such banks. All the restrictive amendments which he proposed to insert into the bank charters passed by the Assembly in 1835 were defeated with the help of reformers. Neither could he win their support for his proposal to tax bank stock 1d. in the £ like other property. On these, as on previous occasions, Peter Perry led the reform opposition to Mackenzie's bank legislation.⁴¹

Mackenzie now despaired of securing bank acts which would provide what he regarded as proper safeguards. "In the most important of its features," he predicted in the *Constitution* of August 17, 1836, "the last House of Assembly and the one about to assemble will be very much alike. The Parliament of 1835 scouted all idea of protecting the public and multiplied banks and other exclusive charters." He was right. "The last radical Parliament," commented John Macaulay a year later, "passed charters which tho' refused by the Council are now re-enacted by a Tory Assembly. . . . The Council has completely bowed to the force of public desire. Indeed it was no longer advisable to withstand the demand of the people for nine banks."⁴² But the legislature also passed an act (7 Will. IV, c. 13) forbidding any new groups of capitalists to issue bank notes without first securing a charter of incorporation. This "cruel and partial measure," commented Mackenzie, prohibited "partnerships where everybody is responsible" and encouraged "associations where there is no responsibility at all."⁴³

After his failure to secure support for his policies during the session of 1835, Mackenzie continued to warn the province about the dangers

³⁹*Chronicle and Gazette*, (Kingston, Ont.), March 8, 1834; *Colonial Advocate*, Aug. 28, Sept. 5, 1833.

⁴⁰P.A.C., Q 381, pt. 1, 233; *Constitution*, Aug. 24, 1836.

⁴¹*Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada*, March 8, 1835, 255-7; *Correspondent and Advocate*, Jan. 22, May 18, July 30, 1835; *Constitution*, Aug. 17, 24, 1836.

⁴²Ontario Archives, Macaulay Papers, John Macaulay to Ann Macaulay, Feb. 2, 1837.

⁴³*Constitution*, Aug. 17, 1836, March 3, 1837.

of banks of issue and the effects of paper money.⁴⁴ He had earlier printed extracts from the *Consequences of Excessive Issues of Paper Money* by James Ronaldson of Philadelphia⁴⁵ and he now recommended William Gouge's *The Curse of Paper Money and Banking* from which he had already printed several extracts.⁴⁶ Gouge also advocated the Scottish banking system strengthened by a restriction on the issue of small notes. His proposals meant unlimited liability of a bank's shareholders for its obligations, a metallic currency for all ordinary transactions, and a stable currency. Mackenzie himself made liberal use of Gouge's ideas and phraseology in criticizing many of the current methods by which banks were promoted.⁴⁷ Like Gouge he viewed the creation of chartered corporations of any kind as the creation of a privileged order and he regarded it as important to prevent "a monied aristocracy from coming into being as to destroy a landed aristocracy by ending primogeniture."⁴⁸ Both men opposed any connection between government and the banks and both denounced "the usurious extortions whereby corporations constituted for Banking Insurance and other purposes . . . possess themselves of the product of industry without granting an equivalent."⁴⁹ Gouge looked "for the restoration of the country . . . to the farmers and mechanics." Mackenzie admonished his readers in these words: "Canadians, the mechanic's workshop is the fastness of a popular constitution, every farmer's house is its citadel."⁵⁰

Mackenzie regarded Gouge's system as the ideal one if it could be obtained but he recognized that in Upper Canada this could not be. As a sort of second-best plan he made use of the ideas of Samuel Young. When printing his account of his own testimony given to the Assembly's Committee on Banking during the panic of 1837, he

⁴⁴*Correspondent and Advocate*, July 18, Aug. 24, 1835.

⁴⁵*Patriot* (Kingston, Ont.), June 9, 1830, quoting the *Colonial Advocate*. Ronaldson's work, a copy of which I have been unable to find, may have been one result of the activities of a group of Philadelphia "workingmen" who, in 1829 appointed a committee to study the banking system. Ronaldson was a member of that committee and so also was Gouge (Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *The Age of Jackson* (New York, 1945), 79). Later Ronaldson published *Banks and a Paper Currency: Their Effects upon Society* (Louisville, Ky., 1832). This work was republished in Philadelphia in 1857 by Richard Ronaldson who, in his Preface, makes no mention of the earlier *Consequences*. James Ronaldson denounced the issuing of paper money because it stimulated speculation and caused price fluctuations harmful to both merchants and farmers. He regarded the issuing of paper money as the exercise by the banks of one of the attributes of sovereignty through the acquisition of special privileges inconsistent with the general good.

⁴⁶*Correspondent and Advocate*, July 23, 1835; *Advocate*, April 10, 17, May 15, 22, 1834.

⁴⁷*Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1835; Mackenzie, *Sketches*, 455-7.

⁴⁸William Gouge, *The Curse of Paper Money and Banking* (London, 1833), 44, 60.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 76, 178; *Correspondent and Advocate*, July 1, 23, 1835.

⁵⁰Gouge, *Curse of Paper Money*, 193; *Correspondent and Advocate*, July 30, 1835.

expressed his ideas in a paragraph taken almost verbatim from Young. Like Young he no longer proposed to exclude paper completely but he thought the amount in circulation should never exceed the amount of specie, and that the circulation of small bills should be prohibited. By this means and by restrictions on bank issues he hoped if not to prevent at least to minimize the contractions and expansions of the currency and the demoralization of business by speculation which (again quoting Young), "have always augmented the wealth of the rich and the poverty of the poor."⁵¹

The credit system of both public and private financing, as well as the multiplication of banks of issue, was condemned in New York State by the Loco-Focos and in Upper Canada by Mackenzie. Repeatedly he drew attention to the indebtedness of the farm community and to the numerous law suits which banks had against farmers.⁵² Cassandra-like he kept prophesying that debts, both public and private, contracted in cheap money would come to be paid in dear. The experience of Great Britain at the close of the Napoleonic Wars provided a lesson which Mackenzie adapted to Canadian conditions. The Restoration of the Currency Act of 1819 had provided for the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England and the restoration of the currency to its old value in terms of gold. This meant, complained the radicals, that the burden of the public debt contracted in the previous period of inflation and inconvertible paper was doubled. Moreover, its payment was provided for chiefly out of customs revenues and bore more heavily upon the poor than upon the landlords of England.⁵³ Mackenzie, watching the province involve itself deeply in debt for internal improvements during a period of inflation, expansion, and speculation, feared that Great Britain's experience would be repeated in Upper Canada. Mackenzie saw, not with Keynesian clarity perhaps, the tremendous power granted by an ability to inflate the currency by issuing paper money. He also recognized that this power was really publicly created power, immensely profitable and socially dangerous in private hands, and that therefore it ought to be under public control.

What was Mackenzie's remedy? "You will be shown one of these days," he wrote in 1835, "how the community can have the loans to themselves and retain the profit on the use of paper."⁵⁴ By this time he had given up hope of securing acceptably restricted charters for banks of issue and was turning to the idea of a provincial bank. His plan for such a bank was never outlined in any detail but he was

⁵¹Byrdsall, *History of the Loco-Foco*, 64; *Constitution*, Sept. 6, 1837.

⁵²*Correspondent and Advocate*, July 19, 1835.

⁵³*Patriot* (Kingston, Ont.), July 29, 1830.

⁵⁴*Correspondent and Advocate*, July 30, 1836.

certainly opposed to combining a government bank of issue with a private bank of discount along the lines of William Hamilton Merritt's scheme. "I am no champion of national banks composed of private stockholders," he wrote in 1840, "If we must have paper let it be the promises to pay of the nation and let the nation have the profit of the issues. . . ."⁵⁵ William Gouge had expressed one of his objections to banks of issue as follows: "The regulation of the currency is one of the most important attributes of sovereignty. This prerogative is now in point of fact surrendered to the banks."⁵⁶ A discussion of the exercise of one of the attributes of sovereignty was not timely under the political conditions of 1835 but "one day" it might be. Sydenham thought it timely in 1841 but he was not able to carry his measure for a provincial bank against the opposition of the existing banks "which relied more for their profits upon their note issues than upon their discounts."⁵⁷

Securing changes in the Crown land system was regarded by some of the reformers as second only in importance to obtaining elective institutions.⁵⁸ For Mackenzie bank legislation had become the important thing. Land reforms, no matter how well devised or how perfectly administered would not have created or preserved in Upper Canada the kind of society of which he dreamed. What was fundamental was that the labourer should not be robbed of the fruits of his toil. Even if existing evils in the land system should be corrected by throwing open all reserves and all the Crown lands for sale to actual settlers at 5s. an acre, by devoting this revenue entirely to internal improvements, by bringing speculators' holdings on the market by a realistic assessment system and severe taxation, by cancelling the Canada Company's charter and resuming its unsold land—and no reforms of this kind were in prospect—all this would not have been enough. The settler had also to be protected from fluctuations in the value of money which threatened the security of those who had gone into debt to purchase and develop their holdings and from the exactions of monopolists who had charters of incorporation.

⁵⁵William Lyon Mackenzie, *Life and Times of Martin Van Buren* (Boston, 1848), 78.

⁵⁶William Gouge, *A Short History of Paper Money and Banking in the United States* (Philadelphia, 1830), pt. 1, 53. Similar sentiments were one day to be expressed, more dramatically if less succinctly, by Mackenzie's grandson, William Lyon Mackenzie King, "once a nation parts with the control of its currency and credit, it matters not who makes the nation's laws. . . . Until the control of the issue of currency and credit is restored to government, and recognized as its most conspicuous and sacred responsibility all talk of the sovereignty of Parliament and of democracy is idle and futile" (*Canada, House of Commons Debates*, 1934, IV, 4365. Quoted in Bruce Hutchinson, *The Incredible Canadian* (Toronto, 1953), 199).

⁵⁷Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, eds., *Canada and its Provinces* (22 vols., Edinburgh, 1914-17), V, 263.

⁵⁸Correspondent and Advocate, March 3, 1836.

How important in Mackenzie's mind monetary and banking policy and the creation of corporations were may be seen from the following letter of justification written, but not sent, to an American sympathizer:

I took the course in politics I supposed to be for the best to the country—opposed borrowing from the people of England—and placing the proceeds in the hands of men whose conduct was unstable and who were under no accountability to the country. I endeavored to make the burdens of the people light, so that it would be impossible for them to be discontented—and when that con . . . ed [confounded?] scheme of levying by wholesale through the bankers notes and corporations got firmly afloat I tried to improve what I could not oppose. . . . In England . . . I showed them the checks I wished to place on the bankers' issues—they approved of this, ordered them to be enforced and allowed bills to be assented to afterwards in which these principles were disregarded. . . . The Colonial Office—when it should have used the power of disallowing bills for good & wise purposes did not use it at all. Then, but not till then, I went for the independence principle, not as the best thing possible but as the best thing likely to be obtained.⁵⁹

The granting of responsible government and of an elective Legislative Council would not have satisfied Mackenzie either. He was fully as much interested in economic as in political reform. "Social order," he wrote, making use of Gouge's words, "is quite as dependent on the laws which regulate the distribution of wealth as on political organization. . . ."⁶⁰ In its issue of March 15, 1837, the *New York Evening Star*, warning the reformers of both provinces not to expect help from the United States, suggested a number of reforms which it regarded as suitable for British colonies and sufficient to tranquillize the Canadas. The measures recommended were union of the provinces, representation in the Assembly on the basis of their population, an appointed Legislative Council, an appointed judiciary, a Cabinet consisting of the heads of departments, and sale of the Clergy Reserves for education. Mackenzie dismissed this programme with scorn as "worn out, threadbare, niggardly."⁶¹ What he aimed at was much more than the settlement of the Clergy Reserves question, control of the Crown lands and territorial revenues by the Assembly, and the establishment of responsible government, or even independence. An enlargement of the powers and resources of the legislature would do the people no good, he warned, unless they were on guard to select representatives who would use these powers and resources for the benefit of the common man. Political privileges once overcome should not be followed by economic privileges created through the granting of insufficiently restricted corporate charters by an unwary or corrupt democratic legislature. "Heaven in its mercy forbid," wrote Mackenzie, "that the legis-

⁵⁹See note 37.

⁶⁰Gouge, *Curse of Paper Money*, 196; *Correspondent and Advocate*, July 23, 1835.

⁶¹*Constitution*, April 5, 1837.

lature of Upper Canada should inevitably conspire with rich, covetous and ambitious capitalists to reduce the Canadian population to the condition of live machinery moving for the benefit of concentrated and in many cases ill acquired wealth."⁶²

Following the rebellion Mackenzie wrote, "My creed has been social democracy—or equality of each man before society—and political democracy, or the equality of each man before the law."⁶³ Here is a succinct summing up and Mackenzie was perhaps helped in reaching it by the articles on democracy in the *Boston Quarterly Review* written by his correspondent and sympathizer, Orestes Brownson.⁶⁴ Mackenzie regarded the struggle in which he was engaged as part of a world wide one and more important than any political revolutions which had preceded it. In 1837 he wrote:

It has been said that we are on the verge of revolution. We are in the midst of one: a bloodless one, I hope, but a revolution to which all those which have been will be accounted mere child's play. Calm as society may seem to a superficial spectator I know that it is moved to its very foundations, and is in universal agitation. . . . The question to-day is . . . between privilege and equal rights, between law sanctioned . . . privilege and . . . the *Power of Honest Industry* . . . the contest is between the privileged and the unprivileged, and a terrible one it is. . . . Not to this country and continent alone, nor chiefly, is this revolution confined. It reaches the old world . . . all who live on abuses seem to . . . feel EVERYTHING GIVING WAY BENEATH THEM.⁶⁵

"Jacksonians everywhere," remarks A. M. Schlesinger, Jr., "had this faith in the international significance of their fight."⁶⁶ Mackenzie expressed his faith on this point in words lifted from Orestes Brownson's *Babylon is Falling*.⁶⁷

It is not surprising that Sir John Colborne believed that in 1835 Mackenzie's influence in Upper Canada was declining or that, in the end, the province rejected him. Many of those who had read the first issue of the *Colonial Advocate* must have deplored the change which had come over its editor by 1835. The first issue is the work of a young man, still loyal, yet chafing at the political and economic restraints that prevented Upper Canada from managing its own affairs and critical of the rule of an unenterprising military Governor. Mackenzie seemed eager to use his newspaper to further the development of the agriculture, the manufactures, the canals, the roads, and the export trade of the province. Surely here was a man who realized Upper Canada's need of men of enterprise and capital, and who understood

⁶²Correspondent and Advocate, July 23, 1835.

⁶³Mackenzie's Gazette (Rochester and New York), Dec. 23, 1840.

⁶⁴Boston Quarterly Review, I, 33-74; II, 358-95; Mackenzie, *Life of Van Buren*, 143.

⁶⁵Constitution, July 26, 1837.

⁶⁶Schlesinger, *Age of Jackson*, 320.

⁶⁷Orestes Brownson, *Babylon is Falling, A Discourse Preached in the Masonic Temple to the Society for Christian Ethics and Progress*, May 28, 1837 (Boston, 1837).

their rôle in society! By 1834 Mackenzie and the radicals had come to be regarded as querulous critics who no longer had a programme—nothing to offer but talk, denunciation, and opposition.⁶⁸ The province wanted more banks, an expanded currency to meet the growing needs of a community no longer content to barter,⁶⁹ more British immigrants, and above all, internal improvements—canals, turnpikes, docks, bridges, railroads, the services of insurance and loan companies, and the chance to carry American agricultural exports to the sea. To all of these Mackenzie was opposed if they meant granting special privileges to limited liability corporations, voting public assistance to private enterprises, increasing the public debt, and raising more revenue by burdening the farmers of Upper Canada with additional customs duties on needed manufactures while exposing them to American competition in their home market. He reproached the reform Assembly of 1835 for chartering numerous corporations and Head's Assembly of 1836 for making loans and grants to numerous harbour, canal, and railroad companies.⁷⁰

One may hazard the guess that in Upper Canada the reformers were divided over the same issues as divided the Democrats in the United States. One wing of the Democratic party was expansionist, favoured free banking laws and general incorporation acts. They wished to fling wide the doors of economic opportunity and remove political obstacles from the ordinary man's road to economic success. The Loco-Focos, equally hostile to monopolies and special privileges, were hard money men opposed to banks of issue and to the chartering of privileged corporations. They were less concerned about expansion of the economy than about preventing the development of great inequalities of wealth and power. A similar split appears to have been developing among the reformers of Upper Canada by 1835. Mackenzie, like the Loco-Focos, opposed the expansionist tendencies of the day. He did so at a time when the "prairie fever" had already taken hold, when immigration to Upper Canada was already falling off, and when the province, with millions of acres of undeveloped land, was already being bypassed for greener pastures in the American West. His policies would have kept the province a stagnant little backwater in a rapidly changing continent and some of those who classed themselves as reformers seem to have realized it.

Peter Perry appears to have been the leader of the expansionist wing

⁶⁸W. B. Robinson to W. H. Merritt, Dec. 2, 1834, printed in the *Constitution*, July 10, 1836.

⁶⁹Niagara *Gleaner*, Sept. 2, 1833; W. A. Langton, ed., *Early Days in Upper Canada: Letters of John Langton from the Backwoods of Upper Canada and the Audit Office of the Province of Canada* (Toronto, 1926), 99–100.

⁷⁰*Constitution*, Aug. 3, Sept. 2, 1836, March 8, 15, 1837.

in the Assembly. His opposition to Mackenzie on the bank question has already been noted. It was also Perry who introduced into the Assembly the U.E. Rights Bill of 1835, a measure designed to benefit land speculators yet supported by some of the reformers. With respect to the session of 1835 we are informed, from a hostile source it is true, that

Mackenzie is losing ground. He expected the leadership on one side of the house but has failed. On one of what he considered his most important motions, to refer the whole subject of finance, accounts, banks, military expenditures and "all other matters" to a select committee named by himself, and of which he would have been chairman, he stood alone with his seconder Chisholm. In a pet he had all his other notices struck off the order of the day. He was well rated by Perry who gave him to understand he must not expect to hold the reins. As a set off he has been indulged in the appointment of a grievance committee.⁷¹

What Mackenzie wanted was an inquiry into the "monied concerns of the country." What he got was a committee to which was referred all the petitions and addresses sent through him to the home government since 1830, and the Colonial Secretary's despatch of November 8, 1832.⁷² It rather looks as if the committee which produced the famous Seventh Report on Grievances was set up to keep Mackenzie busy while his colleagues got on with the real business of the session —the bank bills, the corporation charters, the U. E. Rights Bill, the allotting of road money and commissionerships, and what Robert Stanton described as *Perry's* favourite measures: the Jury Bill, Intestate Bill, Parish Officers Bill, and the Clergy Reserves Bill.⁷³ Mackenzie accused Perry of having borrowed from the Kingston bank to speculate in land. As a result "his legislative independence is in its grave, the bank has dug the hole. True, he appears as usual a patriot upon the ballot, clergy lands and questions which affect not the monied monster to whom he is the slave—but the sepulchre is a whitened one—within all is corruption and rottenness."⁷⁴ Perhaps Stephen Randall's statement that Mackenzie himself called the radicals "the greatest pack of rascals that ever met together to legislate" is a true indication of the declining influence of Mackenzie and of the division within the reform ranks.⁷⁵

To try to decide whether Mackenzie was more influenced by British

⁷¹Ontario Archives, Macaulay Papers, Robert Stanton to John Macaulay, Jan. 29, 1835. The *Constitution* of Sept. 2, 1835, confirms part of this account although Perry's name is replaced by five asterisks.

⁷²*Correspondent and Advocate*, Jan. 22, 29, 1835. Goderich's despatch dealt at length with the grievances of the province.

⁷³Ontario Archives, Macaulay Papers, Robert Stanton to John Macaulay, March 12, 1835.

⁷⁴*Constitution*, May 24, 1837.

⁷⁵*Cobourg Observer*, July 21, 1837.

radicalism or by Jacksonian democracy seems needless. After all the two streams of thought were not distinct and independent of one another. If on the one hand the Jacksonians were influenced by Adam Smith, Jeremy Bentham, and the English bullionists, the English radicals in their turn were influenced by Jacksonian democracy. In addition to a life of Jackson, Cobbett republished Gouge's *Short History of Paper Money and Banking* under the title *The Curse of Paper Money and Banking*.⁷⁶ It was under its English title that Mackenzie recommended Gouge's work to his readers and he may have had his attention drawn to it by Cobbett during his visit to England in 1833. But Mackenzie, as his reference to the work of James Ronaldson shows, was already familiar with the ideas of American hard money men and was associated with Ronaldson Gouge.⁷⁷ Money and banking questions were being discussed in the 1820's and 1830's in both England and the United States and Mackenzie, we know, followed the discussions in the House of Commons with attention.⁷⁸ In the columns of the *Edinburgh Review*, too, he found the advantages of repealing the restraining laws, adopting the Scottish system, and limiting the use of small notes debated as fully as he was to find them in Gouge. But it was Gouge and Young he quoted, not McCulloch's discussions of these topics or of security and specie reserves. Although he does not list or quote Adam Smith, Mackenzie would have found in him that emphasis on the "natural order of things," "natural equality," and the "natural equilibrium of society" which he found in Gouge, William Leggett, and others of the anti-monopoly school. And like William Cobbett, whom he occasionally quoted, but also like the Loco-Focos whom he frequently quoted, Mackenzie became hostile to the economic forces which he saw threatening the simple agrarian society he wished to preserve.

There is no denying of course the great influence of the British radicals upon Mackenzie but some of those who have stressed this aspect of his thought have exaggerated. From the outset of his career in Upper Canada his enemies delighted in showing the similarity and the connection between Mackenzie and the radicals. After the rebellion, in a long report to Sir George Arthur, Robert Baldwin Sullivan intimated that Mackenzie had consciously imitated the rôle of a radical agitator in Upper Canada, that he had dragged the radical issues of the mother country into his discussions of Upper Canada's politics by the hair, as it were, and by this means had made men feel

⁷⁶Schlesinger, *Age of Jackson*, 318.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 79.

⁷⁸Mackenzie, *Life of Van Buren*, 93.

they had grievances which in fact they had not. Real grievances did exist but Mackenzie, argued Sullivan, had distorted the truth.⁷⁹

Modern writers have also exaggerated. It has been said that "Up to 1836 Mackenzie's intellectual background was Scottish, his political temper inspired by British radicalism, his attitude towards many aspects of Jacksonian democracy instinctively critical,"⁸⁰ and that "Evidence of direct influence of Jacksonian democracy in Canada is difficult to find."⁸¹ In view of the frequent use Mackenzie made of his American exchanges and of his admiration for Jackson, these statements require some modification.

Of Jackson himself Mackenzie *was* at first critical. In 1824 he wrote that if Jackson became president he would "lessen his country in the eyes of all civilized nations," and he later described him as a man of "violence, cruelty and headstrong folly."⁸² In 1829 Mackenzie visited Washington, D.C., met Jackson, and began to change his mind. The same year he published extracts from Eaton's *Life of Andrew Jackson* together with favourable comments of his own and by the time Jackson's first term of office was over he had come to admire him.⁸³ In 1833 he wrote to Randall Wixson that he had been misled by the slanders and misrepresentations of the *New York Spectator* and had now come to the conclusion that Jackson was "the fittest choice a nation of freemen could have made."⁸⁴ Mackenzie published a brief laudatory life of Jackson⁸⁵ largely made up of extracts from other biographers and in his newspapers he printed extensive extracts from Jackson's messages and farewell address, praising him as a "true hearted" man of "enlightened views," "independent spirit and vigor."⁸⁶

Among the many American newspapers received in exchange by Mackenzie were the *Buffalo Loco-Foco*; the *New York Evening Post*, which he regarded as one of the ablest; the *Plain Dealer*, begun in 1836 by William Leggett after eight years' service on the *Post*; the *National Gazette and Literary Register* of Philadelphia, edited by William Gouge; and the *Working Man's Advocate*, edited by George Henry Evans. There is a close correspondence between the ideas expressed in the *Working Man's Advocate* and in the *Colonial Advocate*. Evans,

⁷⁹C. R. Sanderson, ed., *The Arthur Papers* (2 vols., Toronto, 1957), I, 154-8.

⁸⁰Chester Martin, "The United States and Canadian Nationality," *Canadian Historical Review*, XVIII (March, 1937), 3.

⁸¹Chester W. New, "The Rebellion of 1837 in its Larger Setting," *Canadian Historical Association, Report*, (1937), 16.

⁸²*Colonial Advocate*, Jan. 10, 1824, Feb. 14, 1828.

⁸³*Ibid.*, Aug. 27, Sept. 3, 10, 1829, Feb. 2, 1833.

⁸⁴*Ibid.*, March 7, 1833.

⁸⁵There is a copy in P.A.C., Miscellaneous, Mackenzie Letters.

⁸⁶*Constitution*, March 22, 1837; *Colonial Advocate*, March 2, 1833, Jan. 11, 1834.

like Mackenzie, regarded labour as the source of all wealth; denounced the large land grants that had been made to a favoured few; objected to the creation of chartered monopolies, especially banks, that "make the rich richer and the poor poorer"; proposed the close regulation of chartered banks and the taxation of bank stock; harped on the evil effects of paper money; recommended both Ronaldson's and Gouge's works to his readers; urged working men to "go for gold"; wanted public funds appropriated for education to be spent on primary schools, not on colleges and academies for the rich; advocated the abolition of imprisonment for debt; wanted the high court costs to be reduced and the laws to be simplified; called for reform in the militia system; and advocated complete separation of church and state; therefore objecting to chaplains in legislative assemblies and the exemption of church property from taxation.⁸⁷ It is not surprising to find that the two editors exchanged papers regularly for years and that after the rebellion Mackenzie associated himself for a time with the National Reform Association in New York City and its organ, the *Working Man's Advocate*.

Prior to the rebellion Mackenzie began to organize political unions on a township basis and to urge the calling of a Convention of the People composed of delegates from these local societies. The date for this convention was finally set at December 21, 1837.⁸⁸ In choosing his political methods Mackenzie may have had in mind the examples set in America by the Patriots of the American Revolution, in Upper Canada by Robert Gourlay, and in England by Francis Place. From Joseph Hume and Francis Place he had learned, that "Without a display of physical force there would have been no Reform Bill,"⁸⁹ and he had heard the slogan, "To stop the Duke go for gold." But Mackenzie had another example before him. He was following with attention the activities of the Loco-Focos in New York State. At a party convention held in Utica in February, 1836, they had proposed the calling of a convention to amend the state's constitution so as to prohibit future legislatures from granting charter of incorporation "as our only safeguard against temptation" and they had justified this proposal on the ground that it was idle to expect a legislature whose members were in the habit of granting charters and privileges to monopolists to protect the interests of the common man.⁹⁰ These were

⁸⁷I am grateful to Mr. Newman Jeffreys of Wayne University who lent me the microfilm of the *Working Man's Advocate* which he has had made from portions of the paper in various libraries.

⁸⁸*Constitution*, Nov. 29, 1837.

⁸⁹William Kilbourn, *The Firebrand: William Lyon Mackenzie and the Rebellion in Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1956), 88, 169.

⁹⁰Byrdsall, *History of the Loco-Foco*, 73, 150.

exactly Mackenzie's sentiments towards the legislature of Upper Canada, even towards the reform legislature of 1835 whose members he compared to the democrats of Tammany Hall.⁹¹ In June, 1837, when testifying before the Committee on Banking, Mackenzie attributed the financial difficulties of the province to its banking practices and concluded his suggestions for overcoming the financial crisis by proposing a Convention of the People to reform the constitution.⁹² When the draft constitution for an independent Upper Canada appeared it included one of the principal provisions for which the Loco-Focos had contended in New York—a prohibition on the granting of corporate charters.⁹³ In the spring of 1837 the Loco-Foco papers were urging their readers to go for gold, arguing that it was paper money that had caused inflated prices, and that the surest way to bring down the cost of the necessities of life was for working men to insist on being paid in specie. Mackenzie accepted and reprinted this argument.⁹⁴ A few weeks later he was advising his readers to get gold for their notes while the getting was good.⁹⁵

There were other influences at work upon Mackenzie in addition to British radicalism and American Loco-Focoism. He appears to have been deeply influenced by several works which he had read before coming to Canada on the history of the thirteen colonies by two American political economists, Mathew Carey and William Gouge, and possibly by a third, Daniel Raymond. By the time Mackenzie began publishing the *Colonial Advocate* he had become acquainted with the ideas of Mathew Carey. In his *National Interests and Domestic Manufactures* Carey argued that if tariff protection were given to domestic manufactures a home market would develop for the products of American agriculture. Thus the United States could be made truly independent of the old world and her western states, prospering from the development of an urban home market, could offer a refuge and a livelihood to the poor and oppressed of all nations.⁹⁶

Here was a vigorous active policy that appealed to Mackenzie. In 1824 Upper Canada had not yet recovered from the depression that followed the War of 1812 and the do-nothing Lieutenant-Governor had no programme for the economic development of the province. Mackenzie was excited by Carey's vision of the government of the young republic directing the development of its rich natural resources

⁹¹ *Constitution*, Aug. 17, 1836.

⁹² *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1837.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1837.

⁹⁴ Byrdsall, *History of the Loco-Foco*, 102; *Constitution*, March 13, 1837, quoting the *Plain Dealer*.

⁹⁵ *Constitution*, May 24, June 7, 1837.

⁹⁶ Mathew Carey, *National Interests and Domestic Manufactures*, (Boston, 1819).

for the benefit of its citizens and of thousands of immigrants to come. Why should not Upper Canada do likewise through its own legislature by means of premiums, bounties, and tariffs?⁹⁷ Upper Canada was dependent for the sale of its surplus wheat on the uncertain British market and was supplied by British manufacturers four thousand miles distant. Backwoods farmers, local merchants, and Montreal importers alike struggled under the heavy chain of debt that linked them to one another and to British export houses. "The tether stake," observed Mackenzie, "is fast in British factories."⁹⁸ Carey opposed placing tariffs on articles that had of necessity to be imported but advocated their use to protect not only domestic manufactures but also the farmer in his home market. Mackenzie thought this policy exactly suited to Upper Canada. "By protecting the farmer," he argued, "we protect the merchant and landowner."⁹⁹ When the Colonial Trade Act of 1831 made possible the free admission to Canada of American wheat, beef, and pork, he, with other reformers, protested vigorously.¹⁰⁰

By 1833 Mackenzie had begun to doubt some of his former opinions about protection.¹⁰¹ The factory system of Great Britain, the nullification crisis in the United States, and the unfavourable trade position of Upper Canada all contributed to this change. In 1833 Mackenzie was in England where free trade ideas were then well to the fore. He abhorred the textile factories which he saw on this occasion because they exploited the labour of children and he declared that such factors should never be protected in Canada with his consent.¹⁰² The farmers of South Carolina were another exploited group who won Mackenzie's sympathy. The accursed American tariff, he wrote, impoverished them for the benefit of the merchants and industrialists of the North-East. Should Upper Canada be "driven into the arms of the United States" her farmers would share their fate.¹⁰³

Mackenzie, however, had not yet become an outright free trader. When he and other Upper Canada reformers talked about obtaining "free" trade they simply meant obtaining a choice of markets. Despite Huskisson's reforms, Mackenzie complained that foreign goods had been made subject to duties which "prevented purchasing except from Great Britain."¹⁰⁴ "Until England shall give to her colonies a monopoly in her markets, she cannot be held entitled to a monopoly in ours,"

⁹⁷*Colonial Advocate*, Aug. 19, 1824, Dec. 9, 1825, May 4, Dec. 7, 1826, July 5, 1827, Jan. 31, 1828.

⁹⁸*Ibid.*, May 18, 1824.

⁹⁹*Ibid.*, April 13, 1826.

¹⁰⁰*Correspondent and Advocate*, Sept. 27, Dec. 24, 1834.

¹⁰¹*Colonial Advocate*, March 7, 1833.

¹⁰²*Ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1833.

¹⁰³*Ibid.*, March 7, April 14, July 7, 1833.

¹⁰⁴*Ibid.*, July 17, 1833.

reported the Committee on Commercial and Agricultural Distress.¹⁰⁵ A resolution in favour of free trade was carried through the Assembly in 1836 by the reformers with Mackenzie's help but an amendment, introduced by Peter Perry and voted for by Mackenzie, makes it clear that the resolution was intended to apply only to articles "that come not into competition with the industry and agriculture of this province."¹⁰⁶ It is true that Mackenzie succeeded in adding to the Declaration of the Toronto Reformers a resolution that the right of obtaining articles of luxury or necessity in the cheapest market is inherent in the people. This resolution, however, as its context makes clear, was not an expression of free trade principles but a justification for a boycott of British goods intended to deprive "Head and his gang" of the vital customs revenues of the province.¹⁰⁷

The influence of William Gouge upon Mackenzie has already been discussed. Gouge quotes from the work of another American economist, Daniel Raymond,¹⁰⁸ and it is possible that Mackenzie became acquainted with Raymond's *Elements of Political Economy* as a result of this reference. I have not found in Mackenzie's writings a direct quotation from Raymond but the ideas of the two men were very similar. Raymond, too, wrote of labour as the cause of all wealth, advocated protection for both the manufacturer and the farmer, denounced the banking and credit system, the issuing of paper money and the chartering of corporations, and favoured government regulation of the issuing of bank notes and the taxation of bank profits. What Raymond said in the early 1820's in his chapter on money, banking, and corporations was exactly what Gouge, Young, Leggett, and the Loco-Focos of New York were saying in the 1830's and what Mackenzie was saying at the same time in Upper Canada.

In Mackenzie's list of books read before 1819¹⁰⁹ there are several works on American history. One of them is Charles Stedman's *History of the Origin, Progress and Termination of the American War*. Stedman's account of the efforts of the legislature of Massachusetts to make public officials, including the judges, independent of the Crown but dependent for their salaries upon the colonial legislature was not lost on Mackenzie.¹¹⁰ Stedman marvelled at the relative weakness of the colonies and the strength of the mother country at the outset of a struggle which the colonies nevertheless won. An army cannot stand

¹⁰⁵Correspondent and Advocate, March 12, 1835.

¹⁰⁶Journals of the House of Assembly of Upper Canada, 1836, 167-70.

¹⁰⁷Constitution, May 24, Aug. 8, 1837.

¹⁰⁸Gouge, *Short History of Paper Money*, pt. 2, 14, 120.

¹⁰⁹Lindsey, *Life of Mackenzie*, II, app. A.

¹¹⁰Charles Stedman, *History of the Origin, Progress and Termination of the American War* (2 vols., London, 1794), I, 81-2; Colonial Advocate, March 22, 1837.

against a united people, concluded the author. Stedman did not overlook the rôle of the press in creating this spirit of resistance—and neither did Mackenzie. He quoted Stedman to his readers to bolster his argument that what was needed was a convention of the people to demonstrate to the British government the extent of popular dissatisfaction with Maitland's rule and the strength of the demand for political reform.¹¹¹

Another work read by Mackenzie before 1819 and several times cited by him was the abbé Raynal's *Revolution of America*. In his opening pages Raynal speaks of "taxes taken from the traders, the husbandmen and the poor being lavished away in pensions and useless places" and quotes Bolingbroke's remark that a veteran body of corrupted members of Parliament is more dangerous to liberty than a standing army without.¹¹² Further on he discusses the evils of government by remote control and summarizes Tom Paine's remarks on this point as follows: "What, to travel always three thousand leagues to claim justice . . . to wait years for every answer . . . to find . . . when we had crossed and recrossed the ocean that injustice only would be the product of our voyage. . . ."¹¹³ Mackenzie likewise denounced the misuse of colonial revenues for the payment of pensions, the corruption of members of the legislature, and emphasized Upper Canada's need to manage its own economic affairs. When he turned from denouncing the existing state of affairs to describing his ideal society Mackenzie quoted the words with which Raynal had ended his book: "People of America. . . . Be afraid of too unequal a distribution of riches which shows a small number of citizens in wealth and a great number in misery. . . . Seek ease and health in labour. . . . Especially watch over the education of your children. . . . Establish no legal preference in your different modes of worship. . . . And *may your duration be . . . equal to that of the world.*"¹¹⁴

The *Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin* was another work which Mackenzie had read before coming to Canada. It seems to have had a peculiar fascination for him and subsequently he reread it many times.¹¹⁵ Later he became acquainted with William Duane's *Memoirs of Benjamin Franklin*.¹¹⁶ In the first issue of the *Colonial Advocate* Mackenzie called Franklin "the asserter of civil and religious rights"

¹¹¹ *Colonial Advocate*, May 4, 1826.

¹¹² L'abbé Raynal, *Revolution of America* (Edinburgh, 1783), 4, 9.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 77-8.

¹¹⁴ *Colonial Advocate*, Sept. 16, 1830.

¹¹⁵ Lindsey, *Life of Mackenzie*, II, app. A. Mackenzie read a duodecimo two volume edition published by 1809. Jameson's *Bibliography of Franklin* does not list such an edition.

¹¹⁶ *Colonial Advocate*, Dec. 16, 1824.

and referred to "the untaught philosophy that has immortalized the Boston printer." Like Franklin, he urged that the British North American colonies be represented in the Imperial Parliament or else that they be allowed to manage their own affairs.¹¹⁷ Concerning the influence of the press he wrote, in borrowed language, that the American Revolution was "the grandest effect of . . . a combination formed by popular representation and the art of printing,"¹¹⁸ and he intimated that in Upper Canada Franklin's "rules" for reducing a large empire to a small one were being followed by its administrators.¹¹⁹ Twice he quoted the sentiments with which one edition of the *Autobiography* closes: "Whether I have been doing good or mischief it is for time to discover; I only knew that I intended well and I hope all will end well."¹²⁰ One is led to wonder whether or not Mackenzie saw himself in the rôle of a Franklin in Upper Canada. On June 15, 1829, the *National Gazette and Literary Register* of Philadelphia printed an article written by Mackenzie on the discontents and future prospects of Upper Canada.¹²¹ It may have been pure coincidence but that article was signed simply A. B., the initials used by Franklin in 1764 to sign his *Cool Thoughts on the Present Situation of our Public Affairs*.

Another A. B. letter on the affairs of Upper Canada appeared in the *Commercial Herald* of Philadelphia on May 23, 1835, and was reprinted in the *Correspondent and Advocate* on July 2, 1835. At this time the paper was being edited by William J. O'Grady. This letter characterized the leaders of the reform party: the Bidwells, Mackenzie, and Perry. It made no mention of the Baldwins, of whom Mackenzie was critical, or of Rolph, unless the comment on "men gifted by nature and qualified by education" who have "retired from the struggle" be regarded as referring to them. Perry received brief and rather lukewarm praise. No one would guess from this letter that in the session of 1835 he had had more influence in the Assembly than Mackenzie himself. The letter was a build up for Mackenzie, and Mackenzie, who was not burdened down with modesty, may well have written it himself. The writer, whoever he may have been, said:

The man who may be said to have occupied the largest share of popular confidence and filled the largest portion of the public eye, is William Lyon Mackenzie whom it is no easy task to describe,—laborious as Hume and stinging as Cobbett, inflexible, indomitable, . . . he has done more to lay open the arcana of Court

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, Jan. 8, 1828.

¹¹⁸*Ibid.*, May 24, 1826.

¹¹⁹*Ibid.*, July 29, 1830.

¹²⁰*Ibid.*, Aug. 19, 1824, Feb. 14, 1828.

¹²¹Mackenzie acknowledges the authorship of this letter in *Mackenzie's Gazette*, Sept. 20, 1840.

intrigue and official corruption, than any other man. His talents are various, though not concentrated and his paper was a picture of his mind, exhibiting a piece of political patchwork, without order, but all telling on public improvement....

Mackenzie and the writer of this letter certainly saw the problems of Upper Canada in the same light. "The question at issue is not what form of government is best but who are fitted to administer that government to the best public advantage."¹²² Not the niggardly question of responsible government, not overcoming the relative economic backwardness of Upper Canada, but the larger question of developing the institutions and resources of the province for the benefit of the common man, that was what mattered. That was throughout his life Mackenzie's "decided" policy. Mackenzie was deeply affected by the contrasts of great wealth and squalid poverty which he observed during his visit to Great Britain. In his letters he urged his fellow Canadians to unite to prevent the development of similar conditions in the New World. "*Let it not be so in America,*" he beseeches them.¹²³ Mackenzie had already begun to fear that the new world would not be much better than the old and it was the Loco-Foco press and the writings of American economists that put him on guard against economic policies which seemed to threaten the prospects of social democracy in Upper Canada.

¹²²A. B.'s letter reprinted in *Correspondent and Advocate*, July 2, 1835.

¹²³*Colonial Advocate*, Dec. 20, 1832.

A New Look at Unrest in Lower Canada in the 1830's

W. H. PARKER

THE ABORTIVE UPRISEINGS in Lower Canada in 1837 closely followed an agricultural revolution which, culminating in the years 1835-7, utterly transformed the pattern of French-Canadian farming, and had widespread and lasting effects upon the life of the habitant. Wheat-farming had formed the basis of the rural economy since the first colonization of New France, as it had in the agriculture of the old country; but in the mid-1830's farmers were compelled to abandon wheat in many districts. In the 1820's the habitants could boast that they "had not been driven to consume any inferior grain,"¹ and by 1827 production of wheat in Lower Canada almost reached three million bushels, a total which increased to nearly 3½ million bushels in 1830.² But the next census, taken in 1844, shows that there had been meanwhile, a catastrophic drop in wheat production and from this there was no subsequent recovery. Oats principally, also barley and rye in some areas, took the place of wheat, and grain-growing yielded place to the growth of fodder crops and dairy-farming.³ The table below illustrates the striking change in the position of wheat between the two census years.

The counties which suffered most from the failure of wheat were generally those where production had been highest hitherto: the fertile lowlands around Montreal, and the good lands along the south

¹"Report of the Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom," in H. A. Innis and A. R. M. Lower, *Select Documents in Canadian Economic History* (2 vols., Toronto, 1933), II, 50-1.

²Public Archives of Canada, Census Held in the Province of Lower Canada in the Year 1831; J. Bouchette, *The British Dominions in North America* (2 vols., London, 1831), I, 366.

³Récapitulation pour districts et comtés des retours du dénombrement des habitants du Bas Canada et d'autres informations statistiques obtenues durant l'année 1844 (Montreal, 1846).

GRAIN PRODUCTION 1831-44
(Bushels)

	1831	1844
Wheat	3,404,756	942,835
Oats	3,142,274½	7,238,753
Barley	394,795	1,195,456
Rye	234,465	333,446

shore of the St. Lawrence estuary below Quebec. Parts of these areas were producing, in the 1840's, less than a tenth of their yield in the 1820's. Yet in those counties which were being colonized by immigrants, the production of wheat, though relatively small, was actually increasing.⁴

The immediate cause of the breakdown of an agricultural system based on wheat-growing appears to have been insect attack. In 1833, Patrick Shirreff, a farmer from the Scottish Lowlands, noticed "wheat-ears exhibiting ravages of wheat-fly" and an examination "found many capsules filled with shrivelled grains or altogether empty."⁵ Alexander, writing in 1844, tells us that "the wheat crops had formerly failed from a worm at the roots of the grain" and that barley, oats, and rye were now grown instead.⁶ The repeated growing of wheat without rotation in a climate too cool and damp had finally exhausted the soil and produced a crop unable to resist insect attack.

The peasants had of necessity to make do with oatmeal or black rye bread. As a British visitor noted in 1842, "till within the last three or four years they always had wheaten bread . . . but latterly they have almost ceased to sow any on account of the fly."⁷ In some areas famine resulted and distress was particularly acute in the Montreal area and along the south shore of the estuary below Quebec, since here the population relied largely on exports of wheat to Quebec for British vessels to carry away.⁸ The marketing of wheat was the chief function of the villages of the Montreal region implicated in the 1837 rebellion, as may be seen from Bouchette's descriptions in his *Topographical Dictionary* published in 1832. Thus at Saint-Ours we read that "many

⁴W. H. Parker, "A Revolution in the Agricultural Geography of Lower Canada, 1833-1838," *Revue Canadienne de Géographie*, XI (Dec., 1957), 191-2 (maps).

⁵P. Shirreff, *A Tour Through North America Together with a Comprehensive View of the Canadas as Adapted for Agricultural Emigration* (Edinburgh, 1835), 136.

⁶J. E. Alexander, *L'Acadie, or Seven Years' Explorations in British America* (2 vols., London, 1849), II, 246.

⁷J. R. Godley, *Letters from America* (2 vols., London, 1844), I, 107.

⁸J. Bouchette, *A Topographical Dictionary of the Province of Lower Canada* (London, 1832), *passim*; R. Blanchard, *L'Est du Canada français* (2 vols., Montreal, 1935), I, 154.

persons of considerable property reside here who are corn-dealers and make large purchases of grain of all kinds, produced in abundance in this and the adjoining seigniories, which is put on board large river craft in the Richelieu and Yamaska and sent to Quebec for exportation." Saint-Denis had "capacious storehouses, chiefly used as granaries, in which large quantities of corn [wheat] are collected from the adjacent seigniories for exportation," and at Berthier, there were "a great many granaries" from which "large quantities of grain are annually exported." When the farmers were compelled to abandon the crop, these places lost their *raison d'être*.

Grain was imported to relieve the distress and about 400,000 bushels of foreign wheat came into Quebec in 1835 and again in 1836.⁹ The failure of the 1836 harvest brought famine in 1837 and in February of that year the Governor, Lord Gosford, wrote to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Glenelg, that "his apprehensions of the distress which would be occasioned by the failure of last year's crops have been unhappily fully confirmed."¹⁰ Later in the same year he wrote that there were "some neighbourhoods actually in a state of starvation,"¹¹ and when Lord Durham arrived at Quebec in 1838, he was greeted with "a number of petitions from parishes situated in the lower part of the St. Lawrence, praying for relief in consequence of the failure of the harvest [of 1837]."¹²

The economic distress into which the habitants fell in the 1830's takes on an even darker hue when seen against the comfort and well-being which preceded it. Most observers had agreed that the French Canadians lived in ease and abundance;¹³ Bouchette referred frequently to "ease and affluence" in the older seigniories and on the more fertile lands.¹⁴

While the main prop of the economy was being thus abruptly removed, the population continued to grow and press upon the land. The recorded population of Lower Canada rose from 511,922 in 1831, to 690,782 in 1844, despite a cholera epidemic which raged in the province from 1831 to 1833. The crude annual birthrate was about thirty-six per thousand; the proportion of the population under the age of fourteen in 1831 was 33 per cent; the proportion under fifteen in 1844 was 46 per cent; this was higher than in Japan or India today.

⁹H. Murray, *Historical and Descriptive Account of British North America* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1839), II, 16; Innis and Lower, *Select Documents*, II, 255.

¹⁰Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, 42/271/356, 1837.

¹¹Ibid., 42/272.

¹²J. G. Lambton (First Earl of Durham), *The Report on the Affairs of British North America* (London, 1839), 42.

¹³Bouchette, *The British Dominions*, I, 409; J. E. Alexander, *Transatlantic Sketches* (2 vols., London, 1833), II, 212; Earl of Durham, *Report*, 12.

¹⁴Bouchette, *Topographical Dictionary*, Pointe aux Trembles seigniory and *passim*.

It is not therefore surprising that the earlier-settled French areas, especially where the wheat failure had hit hardest, were suffering hardship from over-population. Subdivision of holdings among children was symptomatic of land shortage, and when this practice had reached its limit, young couples were given *emplacements* (building lots) just large enough for cottage and garden, and they either laboured on other men's land, took to fishing, or became paupers.¹⁵ Many young men left their homes "to undertake long voyages from which few return."¹⁶

Even when cultivable land was available, a series of impediments prevented the land-hungry sons of the habitant from settling on it, adding political resentment to social distress. The land policy of the government was as important as any of these hindrances to settlement. After the Conquest, the British government abandoned the seigniorial system of granting lands and made lavish gifts of land to individuals without any condition attached as to their settlement. An example of these huge grants was the disposal of the whole township of Dorset to one John Black.¹⁷ Entire townships were also granted to the officers and men of the Canadian militia, who had resisted the Americans in the wars of 1775-83 and 1812-14. Grants were made to the members of disbanded regiments; but it was rare for a soldier successfully to settle on land thus granted.¹⁸ Speculators bought these lands and they were in no hurry to dispose of them, preferring to wait until pioneers in surrounding districts had raised their value. Consequently, whole townships granted in this way, such as Somerset (Megantic county), Simpson (Drummond county), Windsor (Sherbrooke county), remained almost entirely without settlers.¹⁹ This evil policy of large free grants to absentees, officials, favourites, and so on was not halted until 1829-31, when the policy of sale or auction was at last introduced. Even then free grants did not cease. On one pretext or another, such as the need to honour promises already made, they continued at least until 1837, and in that year free grants exceeded the amount of land sold.²⁰ By 1837, 3½ million acres, or almost half of the surveyed territory of the province including almost all the best land, had been granted away. Thus large tracts of wilderness barred the way of the would-be settler on every side.

The settlement of new lands was further handicapped by the want

¹⁵Ibid., *passim*.

¹⁶Ibid., Lauzon seigniory.

¹⁷Ibid., Dorset township.

¹⁸Alexander, *Transatlantic Sketches*, II, 214.

¹⁹Bouchette, *Topographical Dictionary*, see the townships mentioned.

²⁰R. Montgomery Martin, *The British Colonies, their History, Extent, Condition and Resources* (3 vols., London, 1849), I, 137.

of roads serving them. The following words, written about one seigniory, were applicable to many others: "the want of proper roads has for many years been a great impediment to the comfort and the prosperity of the inhabitants, and has materially retarded the formation of new settlements."²¹ It was the seigneur's duty to open roads where needed, but most were unable or unwilling to assume it. There were exceptions, as in Jolliet, where the roads were "numerous and have been judiciously laid out at the suggestion of the seigneur who devotes much attention to these and other objects . . . tending to the comfort of the inhabitants."²²

Roads were not the only need. The amount of available land could have been increased in many over-populated districts, had the seigneurs been able to drain low-lying land since the habitants lacked the resources for this.²³ Want of capital with which to start farming held back colonization in some districts: "The want of means prevents the youths of this parish from making new settlements; if they were furnished for one or two years with provisions, utensils, and the necessary livestock, there would not be so many living on *emplacements* where they exist so miserably."²⁴

The British Conquest broke the power of feudal tradition and many seigneurs were now applying the law of supply and demand rather than that of custom to rents, thus restricting the easy flow of settlers on to vacant lands and keeping those who did acquire land in such poverty that they were unable to provide their children with farms: "There are certainly many young persons in this seigniory . . . willing to make new settlements; but the want of means, and the high, and in some cases exorbitant rent required for new concessions interpose obstacles."²⁵ One seigneur put the rent up from the customary *sol* (half a cent) and capon for every *arpent* of frontage to an *écu* (half a dollar) and even to six francs (one dollar), while his neighbour, besides demanding these anti-feudal rents, "obliged those who take new concessions to pay, moreover, the tenth pound of sugar out of the quantity they make."²⁶ Not all seigneurs slowed down the colonization of new lands in this way, but seigniories like the following were unhappily very few: "Nothing in this seigniory retards the establishment of new settlements, which are increasing fast, and the seigneur demands moderate rent only."²⁷ Thus the "English" were often repre-

²¹Bouchette, *Topographical Dictionary*, Bécancour seigniory.

²²*Ibid.*, Jolliet seigniory.

²³*Ibid.*, St. Hyacinthe seigniory.

²⁴*Ibid.*, St. Gabriel seigniory.

²⁵*Ibid.*, Soulange seigniory.

²⁶*Ibid.*, Rivière Ouelle seigniory.

²⁷*Ibid.*, Gentilly seigniory.

sented by a new seigneur who had bought the *seigneurie* from his French predecessor, and the anger aroused by the local landlord was directed against the British in general. Durham estimated that at least half of the more valuable seigniories had been purchased by wealthy English capitalists who, not understanding the seignorial tenure, often exercised their rights "in a manner which the Canadian settler reasonably regarded as oppressive."²⁸

It is at first sight surprising that the French population, closely confined within the seigniories where high rents and lack of spare land offered little prospect to ever-increasing numbers, did not overflow more readily into the townships. But, as Lord Aylmer reported in 1830, "the great majority of the inhabitants of Lower Canada hold their lands under seignorial tenure, to which they are much attached . . . in denying them the power of acquiring Crown lands under that tenure, they are virtually excluded from the market when Crown lands are put up for sale."²⁹ Reluctance to enter the townships stemmed partly from ignorance, and from suspicion of the new tenure and the activities of speculators which surrounded it, but also from the lack of social and religious consolations in the wilderness. The life of the habitant was so bound up with social customs and religious observances that it was hard for him to leave them behind. Lord Durham thought financial provision should have been made for the extension of the Catholic Church outside of the seigniories and he was convinced that this "absence of the means of religious instruction has been the main cause of the indisposition of the French population to seek new settlements as the increase of their numbers pressed upon their resources."³⁰ In the *Topographical Dictionary*, phrases such as "these persons object to settle in the townships," and "none of the inhabitants will settle in the townships," are frequently encountered.³¹

Immigration from the British Isles and the United States was an added cause of discontent in many localities. Immigrants from Britain had not only introduced cholera into the province, but they took up land on which the habitant had hoped to have settled his sons. At Saint-Sulpice, in L'Assomption county, "besides more than a hundred families who have no lands, there are 600 youths, above and under 21, who are desirous of settling but cannot obtain lands, even in the neighbouring townships . . . on account of the number of strangers who settle there,"³² and at Lachenaye settlement was impeded by "the

²⁸Earl of Durham, *Report*, 15.

²⁹Quoted in D. A. Heneker, *The Seignorial Régime in Canada* (Montreal, 1926), 318.

³⁰Earl of Durham, *Report*, 60.

³¹Bouchette, *Topographical Dictionary*, La Prairie and Soulange seigniories *passim*.

³²*Ibid.*, St. Sulpice seigniority.

preference given by him [the seigneur] to strangers, particularly the Americans."³³ In some districts, where Irish immigrants had settled to the rear of the habitants, the standard of living of the latter was being undermined. This was especially true in the vicinity of Montreal and Quebec where the habitants relied upon selling their produce in the city markets. Captain Alexander,

frequently witnessed a Canadian peasant returning from the market with the poultry, cheese or vegetables he had taken into town to dispose of, and with a scowl on his countenance retracing his steps homeward. The cause of his discontent was simply this: the Irish now crowd the markets in Lower Canada; at first they ask the same price as the habitants, but being as usual "from hand to mouth", they speedily reduce their price, and take whatever they can for their pork, butter, eggs, etc.³⁴

It may therefore be concluded that, by 1837, severe inroads had been made upon the traditional well-being of the French-Canadian peasant, and that the main causes of this sharp deterioration in his condition were the failure of wheat as the staple crop and chief source of wealth, and the pressure of population upon the land, resulting in an excessive subdivision of holdings. Trying to support his large family on a smaller farm with reduced yields, yet still rendering the same tithes, and confronted with a seigneur who was no longer the friend and counsellor of earlier days but often an exacting alien, the habitant might be reduced to a misery which made him the easy prey of politicians. M. de Pontois, the French minister at Washington, was surely mistaken when he ascribed the discontent entirely to nationalism and told Paris that there was no other just cause for it: "Tout m'a confirmé dans l'opinion que la rivalité des deux races est, au fond, la cause réelle des troubles du pays, et la question de nationalité le seul argument que les agitateurs peuvent parvenir à faire comprendre aux canadiens."³⁵ According to him, British rule had "rien d'oppressif ni de blessant" and hostility to it was aroused only by "bruits les plus absurdes." It was rather for the social and economic reasons adduced above that the habitants were willing to listen to the agitators and ready to send fewer moderates and more extremists to the Assembly. The members were sometimes seigneurs, but more often professional and business men from the local villages, fired with zeal and devoted to Papineau. Dalhousie complained in 1828 that the new assembly was "a thousand degrees worse than the last—the lowest dregs of

³³*Ibid.*, Lachenaye seigniory. The seigneur here was no longer French, but a Peter Pangman Esq.

³⁴Alexander, *Transatlantic Sketches*, II, 213.

³⁵La Roque de Roquebrune, "M. de Pontois et la rébellion des canadiens français en 1837-1838," *Nova Francia*, III (1928), 248.

society, village surgeons, butchers, tavern keepers, and such. . . . I cannot give them my usual public dinner."³⁶

These village doctors, lawyers, butchers, and innkeepers were not mere political opportunists preying upon the peasants' discontents; they had grievances of their own and had themselves developed a fierce hatred of the British that no concessions could appease. This resulted, in part, from the educational system. Like many backward countries today, Lower Canada had a system of higher education which produced far more educated men than the country could absorb. Every year the Catholic colleges turned out two or three hundred men; almost all of them were the children of habitants selected by the village priest for their precocity. After leaving college, they returned to their villages where, their education having unfitted them for agriculture which they now despised, they became *curés*, *avocats*, *notaires*, and *médecins*.³⁷ But since there were too many of them to make a good living, their discontent dwelt upon the British office-holders whose places they coveted. Prominent among the grievances urged in the Ninety Two Resolutions passed by the Assembly in 1834 were the fewness and relative insignificance of the offices held by French Canadians.³⁸ M. Pothier, the member for Baie Saint-Paul, told Dr. Bigsby in 1836 that:

There is a grievance which we feel most acutely, that I may be allowed to state: it is that the greatest number, and the most lucrative, of our public offices are given to strangers. Every vacant place almost is filled up by the second cousin of a member of the Imperial Parliament, or by some one who has been useful to the ministry in some obscure county election. . . . At present, therefore, our own young ambitions are in dispair. I can shew you a hundred young men of family, with cultivated and honourable minds, absolutely running to seed for want of occupation, and exasperated at finding themselves neglected.³⁹

Since these educated men, who were the kith and kin of the peasants among whom they lived, had immense influence, their own hostility was easily communicated to the people; and it was to their combination of intellectual superiority over the habitants and social equality with them, that Lord Durham attributed "the extraordinary influence of the Canadian demagogues."⁴⁰

While the educated professional classes saw themselves excluded from the more lucrative offices, the commercial element found them-

³⁶N. Macdonald, *Canada 1763-1841: Immigration and Settlement* (London, 1939), 392-3.

³⁷Earl of Durham, *Report*, 13.

³⁸F.-X. Garneau, *Histoire du Canada* (3 vols., Quebec, 1859), III, 633.

³⁹John J. Bigsby, *The Shoe and Canoe or Pictures of Travel in the Canadas Illustrative of their Scenery and of Colonial Life with Facts and Opinions on Emigration, State Policy, and Other Points of Public Interest* (2 vols., London, 1850), I, 206-7.

⁴⁰Earl of Durham, *Report*, 13-14.

selves unable to compete with their Anglo-Saxon rivals. And if a few "smarted under the loss occasioned by the success of English competition," they all felt acutely "the gradual increase of a class of strangers in whose hands the wealth of the country appeared to centre, and whose expenditure and influence eclipsed those of the class which had previously occupied the first position in the country."⁴¹ Thus the unrest was greatest in the Montreal region where British commercial enterprise and penetration had been most forceful. It centred upon the city of Montreal and the large villages of the region, since these were the places where the professional and commercial inequalities between the two peoples were most blatant and the bitterness most intense. That is why it was against the Executive and Legislative Councils that the main torrent of the *patriotes'* abuse was directed. Not so much for the constitutional reasons alleged, as because the councils represented the British official and commercial classes.

The ungracious attitude of the British after the Conquest provided a suitable atmosphere for the growth of such jealousies: "had my countrymen in general, in former times, been more unbending in their demeanour towards them, and made them feel less sensitively their inferiority of condition, their asperities at the present day would have been at least softened towards us."⁴² But where the two peoples did not meet, they had not, until recently felt much mutual animosity, and "those of the district below Quebec, who experienced little interference from the English, continued to a very late period to entertain comparatively friendly feelings towards them."⁴³

⁴¹*Ibid.*, 14.

⁴²T. R. Preston, *Three Years' Residence in Canada, 1837-1839* (2 vols., London, 1840), I, 76.

⁴³Earl of Durham, *Report*, 8.

Charles Mair: A Document On the Red River Rebellion

F. N. SHRIVE

THE FOLLOWING DOCUMENT is part of the Mair Papers in the Queen's University Library.¹ Professor W. L. Morton in his *Begg's Red River Journal & Other Papers, 1869-70*,² does not refer to this document. Nevertheless Mair's account of the rebellion does provide interesting, and perhaps significant, commentary on events about which there is still much doubt. Two sections in particular of this document give specific details of happenings which historians have had to treat with conjecture—the march of the Portage "loyalists" to relieve the prisoners in Fort Garry and, more important, the unofficial visit of Joseph Howe to the settlement just before William Macdougall was to take over as Lieutenant-Governor.

Referring to a letter from Mair to Murdoch McLeod on April 17, 1925, Professor Morton states that "no one led the march" of the "loyalists" in early February, 1870; then, referring to Boulton's own *Reminiscences*, he writes that "the command was gradually assumed by Captain C. A. Boulton . . . who joined the party to keep it out of trouble."³ In a previous letter to McLeod on January 26, 1925,⁴ Mair, commenting on A. C. Garrioch's *First Furrows*, had written:

. . . it omitted the most valuable and informative information regarding the Red River Rebellion and loyalist operations at Portage la Prairie in 1869. Me he scarcely mentions at all and only in the most casual way though I was one of the most active of the co-operators in the movement. . . . My wife he similarly ignores though we both took boarding in his father's house and were very intimate friends of his father both then and thereafter. On the other hand he indulges in the most unstinted praise of Major Boulton, ascribing to him, untruthfully, the merit of the whole loyal movement. Now, as you know, Boulton deserted us when we were beleaguered in Dr. Schultz's house and was not made prisoner there, having made his way to the Portage where several of Dennis'

¹Mair (1838-1927), poet, pioneer, merchant, and civil servant, is best known to Canadian historians as one of the chief causes of unrest in the Red River Settlement in 1868-9 and as one of the main participants in the "Rebellion" itself. A founder of the "Canada First" party, he ardently propounded in both his life—not always wisely—and his writings—not always artistically—the principles of that movement. He managed to outlive all but the historian's opprobrium, and indeed, to be considered by many critics in the 1920's as "The Dean of Canadian Letters" and as one of Canada's "Grand Old Men."

²Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1956.

³Begg's *Red River Journal*, 101, 314n.

⁴All letters referred to are in the Mair Papers, Queen's University Library.

surveyors also were. He was a guest of the Rev. Mr. George's and some doubts were expressed, as you may remember, with regards to including him in the movement, and actually he was not informed of it until preparations were very far advanced. Then he was advised and decided to go with the crowd, and if I remember aright, Sergt. Powers would have been much preferred to him as a military leader. What this old parson's [Garrioch's] objective was in ignoring my own activities at the time I cannot say.

Aside from the fact that Mair considered himself "one of the most active co-operators in the movement," he might well question his being virtually ignored by Garrioch, for since about 1915 he had been constantly urged by friends and publishers to write the "true history" of the events of '69-'70—as E. S. Caswell put it in a letter to Mair on March 26, 1924, he was "*the man to do it.*" By 1921, then eighty-two, Mair was retired from the Dominion Immigration Service and evidently prepared to begin the work. Letter after letter went out from his home in Calgary or from the nursing home in Victoria where he spent the last three years of his life, seeking information, confirmation, or merely maintaining connection with the few "Old Timers" still alive. To Murdoch McLeod in Edmonton, however, went perhaps the most significant letter on September 20, 1922:

... my pen is at work, and I want to get all that your memory retains of the meeting at St. Charles where Mr. Howe spoke against Mr. Macdougall. If you could send me this in a week or so I should like, for example—exact account of how you came to know of the meetings—if in the church, and by day or night, and date if you remember it, in October 1869. Names of the priests present. Were Riel and O'Donahue there, or any sympathisers from Winnipeg or elsewhere, British or American? Howe's statements as nearly as you remember them and particularly what he said about the Manitoulin Island; and his advice to keep Mr. Macdougall out.

Did the priests, or any others speak? And was any motion put or passed? Who took Howe from Winnipeg to the meetings? And did you hear, or hear of, any other statements of his, and was it your opinion that his conduct and statements encouraged rebellion and did Mr. Macdougall injury.

I also want to know about the "Committee of Forty"—loyal men, who they were, and where you met to discuss matters.

A single letter can contain all the foregoing to the best of your recollection, and I should like to get it as soon as possible. I am getting information from the few survivors of the time, and no one was more active than yourself in the loyal cause, or saw more. With regard to other transactions, of course I have what I took down from you, but you may remember other particulars of interest which were not included, or escaped your memory, and might mention them. . . .

McLeod's answer, if he wrote one, is not in the Mair Papers, and the document printed below may be the record Mair "took down" from McLeod some time previous to the above letter (the date at the head of the document would suggest that this was not earlier than June 20, 1922). The style certainly supports this view, and yet the comment "Murdoch McLeod's statement re Jo Howe," near the end of the document, although it does not answer all Mair's questions in the letter of September 20, 1922, was perhaps originally contained in a written reply.

In any case, Mair delayed too long the writing of his memoirs. In a letter to Wm. Brady on February 23, 1923, he stated:

My experiences in the Red River Rebellion involve matters of a very delicate political and personal nature which have never [reached] the press, and it has always been a question with me whether I should repress or publish. I have not determined this point, and it is highly probable that publication will be deferred until after my death.

To McClelland & Stewart on March 15, 1923; he wrote:

. . . I am urged to publish. . . . I am rather averse for one or two reasons. For instance, the reputation of a certain distinguished politician from the East [changed from "Maritime Provinces"] would suffer severely from his treachery and double-dealing in 1869, should the evidence in my possession be made public. From this and other disloyalties, and on other counts, a severe indictment could be drawn which would not be very pleasant reading for some. Yet I could not omit matters of such historic moment and be a frank and truthful writer.

To R. G. MacBeth on July 24, 1923:

. . . I have changed my mind. There are reputations at stake, and it is impossible to pass over the Howe episode, however deeply it may offend his friends. But all this can wait, there is no hurry about it.

What is needed now in his province, Nova Scotia, and elsewhere, is a noble mind like Grant's and Haliburton's to forecast anew the necessity of Imperialism and to denounce the "hidden hands" and the treachery which is seeking to land us in the dirt. D - n them, there will be war first.

And again to MacBeth on August 3, 1923:

The Memoirs are postponed, perhaps until after death. I have no desire to give pain. I advocated the Canadian interest fearlessly in Red River, for I went there for that purpose, but I lost no friend worth having thereby. I was abused but only by a recreant Canadian and some French priests, and even Jack McTavish in his cups told me that in his opinion I was "more sinned against than sinning." That was fine, and with all his brutal animal nature I bear him no malice, though he was a bitter enemy of the Canadian cause.⁵ But enough.

Even though he implied almost a year later in a letter to Lorne Pierce on June 3, 1924, that only his ill health and the necessity to go to Winnipeg to consult Lady Schultz and her late husband's papers, and to Ottawa to interview Mrs. Wm. Macdougall were preventing him from proceeding with his work, it must have been clear to him by then that his story would never be written except as isolated notes such as the "Red River Memo," referred to by Professor Morton,⁶ or the incomplete biographical and historical essay below. His daughter, Mrs. E. J. Cann, made desultory attempts to carry on the work, but by 1935 she too had evidently decided against writing the Mair memoirs, and in that year, at the request of Lorne Pierce, and through the kindness of F. G. Brown, a Queen's graduate, the papers were given to the Queen's University Library.

Murdoch McLeod—aged 78 on 20th June, 1922.

Born in Stornaway Island of Lewis

Murdoch McLeod, Edmonton, 10147—115th Street.

Came to Hudson's Bay in 1861 for the H.B. Co.—went to MacKenzie River in 1862 and right down to Fort Anderson called the Huskie Fort—Chief Trader Roderick Macfarlane⁷ being then in charge. In the Barren Lands. In 1863 he

⁵Cf. Morton, *Begg's Red River Journal*, 182n.

⁶Ibid., 21.

⁷Macfarlane and Mair collaborated on *Through the MacKenzie Basin* (Toronto: 1908), Mair's half of the book being a record of his experiences with the Scrip Commission and Macfarlane's, according to a review in the London *Times* "certain papers on Canadian Natural History exhumed from the Smithsonian Institution," a rather unfair comment in the light of the information given in the next few lines of the document.

and Macfarlane went right to the Arctic to find how far north different birds went and collected about 1400 lbs. weight of specimens for the Smithsonian Institution in Washington—eggs and skins only. Had 13 Indian carriers, 2 Esquimeaux and a French Canadian. Caribou very plentiful for food and a little pemican for emergencies. Went as far north as the island on which Franklin wintered on his first expedition. Could not tell how far north the Canada goose and the Wavey went, and found 40 specimens of ducks, some varieties never seen here. The names of birds were found by counting the feathers in the tail and comparing with Smithsonian lists. The ptarmigan and other grouse including black cock were very plentiful but no prairie chickens. These confined to the main land but geese and ducks were plentiful on the island.⁸ Murdoch killed the largest grizzly bear in Franklin Bay on the Arctic coast, the only one seen but the brown and black were plentiful and the Polar bear on the ice, but never mingled. The bones and hide of the grizzly weighed 500 lbs., so the bear must, when alive, weighed [sic] about 1400 lbs. Returned and wintered at Fort Anderson. Left there and wintered at Fort Simpson in 1864 with Wm. Hardisty and Mr. [Camsell?]. In summer went up to Methy Portage with the York Boats taking up furs and taking trading goods back. Wintered in '65 and '66 at Fort Liard with "Big Bear" Maclean as chief trader. Then in '67 he came to Fort Garry and wintered there, living for 2 years more after his 5 years were out on Mackenzie. The yearly pay was £25 but had to pay for clothing.

In the spring of '68 went up on the old International, Captn. Munn to Georgetown, then back to Fort Garry and left the Service in June, 1868. Then went with Rev. Mr. Nesbitt and John MacDonald of Prince Albert to Prince Albert, came back and bought a farm at High Bluff. Saw Riel in Winnipeg often, a mere bar-room loafer.

Wintered at High Bluff in 1868 and next year was agitating against the Riel crowd and the Rebellion when Dennis was at Stone Fort, and when the Loyalists were taken prisoner at Dr. Schultz' house he and others began drilling at High Bluff and holding meetings and the people did the same at the Portage and Poplar Point. The meetings were being held at John Connor's house. He and Boyd Ogletree and the Sissons came in in the summer of 1869. Kenneth MacKenzie came in the summer of '68 and went back for his family and brought them in in the spring of '69 and started farming at Beaverside on Rat Creek. MacBean and John Maclean were going to the Caribou gold mines in 1862, Massacre time, by way of the prairies but stopped at the Portage and took up farms. Farquhar MacLean came out on the same ship with Murdoch but settled at the Portage in '66. The Dilworths came in the fall of '68 and settled at High Bluff. There were no Canadians in the High Bluff or Poplar Point other than those named. Arch MacLure and John Gillies, from Huron, came in '68 and settled at High Bluff being the only other Canadians then in the country. Col Belcher married Mrs. Macleod's sister. Her maiden name was Macleod, married in the fall of 1880. Our meetings continued at all points, preparing ladders, torches for our assault on Fort Garry, timed for the night of the day Riel was proclaimed president. A Council of Forty was held in Winnipeg to meet Riel's council but of course couldn't agree, the guard being called to prevent any motion. Murdoch and Wm. Cummings went down in January 1899 [sic] and did not come back and used to go to Indian and other loyal parish to get wind of affairs and accompany Dr. Schultz from place to place. The Drs. first place was

⁸Mair's own interest in natural history perhaps explains the emphasis he gives to it in his part of the document. A letter to him from Henry Y. Hind (Oct. 31, 1863) begins: "Your bird just received in rather a damp condition is the American Coot."

at old Sandy MacBeth's, Robert's brother, then to Andrew Mowatt's,⁹ and old Mr. Murray's, and moved about from St. Andrews to St. Peters stopping at Archdeacon Cowley's and so on. Alic Parker who with his brother George came in from Lanark, Ont.,¹⁰ in spring of 1869 and went to the Portage when the Rebellion started (but were not in the Schultz house) and used to tell Murdoch in Winnipeg our doings,¹¹ so that Murdoch could get into the Fort and could tell them what was being done, telling them in Gaelic what we were doing at the Portage, for after my escape with Scott, all the prisoners were removed to the officers'quarters in Fort Garry. Jno. Sutherland was often up in the Fort consulting with Mactavish and others acting against the Loyalists¹²—strange for Sutherland's father was in the Black Hole of Calcutta with old Adam MacBeth's father. The night Riel was declared president,¹³ Murdoch was back and forth to the Fort watching Riel and the others drinking at Bannatynes, Dutch George's and the Red Saloon,¹⁴ so that only one boy was on guard at midnight and Murdoch was to meet us at the Red Saloon at 2 a.m. The storm started about 5 a.m. and Wm. Cummings and Murdoch started at daylight for old Mr. Crozier's next to Henry MacKenny's store (Ashdown's father-in-law) knowing that we were snowed up and tried to keep old Kenneth MacKenzie who had come from the Portage to attend the Council of Forty and wanted to go home and did so meeting us at Headingly and then went on home trying to discourage us and not to go to Fort Garry. The blizzard held Murdoch and Cummings at Sturgeon Creek 7 miles from Winnipeg. But for the storm we could have walked into Fort Garry and released the prisoners and taken possession without a blow, as the guards were dead drunk. After the storm Murdoch went up to Headingly church and reported. Then we sent him and Jno. J. Setter down to the lower parishes and they saw Dr. Schultz and reported to him how things were at Headingly, went to Cowley's church at St. Peter's and met the Indians and halfbreeds and natives on Sunday and then it was arranged that they would all come from all the Parishes and meet us at Kildonan, we wanting the prisoners out and they opposed to Riel as preside. Murdoch then drove to Headingly on Monday morning and told us and at night we marched on foot, leaving our rigs at Headingly, afterwards confiscated by Riel, past Fort Garry and got first to Wm. Inkster's, had breakfast and walked on the ice searching house and the Butcher's¹⁵ for Riel, on to Kildonan. Murdoch, however, had driven down in Barber's cutter (Barber was Sandy Lagan's [?]) and met the whole body coming up, then drove back and met our Portage men at Robby Tait's at Silver Heights. Then we all came on together to Kildonan as above. Then we sent a demand by Tom Norquay (John's brother) and mother to Fort Garry with a demand for the release of the prisoners which was immediately granted and guaranteed that no more prisoners would be taken. It was this demand not Miss McVicar's as some tried to make out which led to the release.¹⁶ Murdoch and Flat Boat Maclean started for Fort Garry with cutter to see that all the prisoners had been released and on the way up met Bishop MacCrea, Arch. McLean and Cowley and Tom Bunn and said there was no guard in the village of Winnipeg. When they got to Winnipeg no guard was to be seen and went on to Crozier's and there were no guards in sight. Only 3 prisoners were lodging at Crozier's and they knew nothing of the others. Murdoch went for the cutter at the back of the house and drove round, a great crowd of Riel's men being on the main street and

⁹Cf. Morton, *Begg's Red River Journal*, 101, 319.

¹⁰Mair's birthplace.

¹¹I.e. at Portage.

¹²Cf. Morton, *Begg's Red River Journal*, 301.

¹³Feb. 10, 1870.

¹⁴Cf. Morton, *Begg's Red River Journal*, 100.

¹⁵H. Coutu. Cf. *ibid.*, 102.

¹⁶Cf. *Ibid.*, 104.

McLean ran behind Crozier's house and jumped over Col. Dennis' hay stack calling out to Murdoch in Gaelic that he was taken prisoner and was afterwards taken to Fort Garry [sic]. Murdoch thought of making a dash through the crowd having a fast horse but seeing that the French had half a dozen choice buffalo runners right ahead of him he drove to Crozier's front door to get in and a French half-breed called out in French to catch the English dog but got into the house and got 2 seven shooters one in each hand and cried out "Come and catch the English dog!" He was there all night until day-break. Col. Dennis had a lame pony in Crozier's stable and a cow and Murdoch took the cow and an old blanket capot of Dr. Lynch's in the house and he disguised himself and pretended to be lame like old Crozier, and Bill Whiter, Col. Dennis' ostler, led the pony and Murdoch drove the cow to the river to drink in pretence, and decided to fight outside rather than bother Crozier, threw off Lynch's capot and made for the woods across the river and went down on the east side through the timber to Kildonan where we all were. He was reporting to the school house to Dr. Schultz and others (and Boulton and others just before) when Parisien escaped from it, [McLeod] telling them that he did not believe in any guarantee [sic] from Riel that no more prisoners would be taken. Meantime Parisien escaped and ran up the ice and killed Johnny Sutherland, 17 years old, intending to capture his horse but the horse bolted, Sutherland fell in the deep snow and Parisien fired the 2nd. shot as he lay, the ball going through his breast and out at his back. Murdoch carried him up into Dr. Black's kitchen where he was examined by Dr. S. and Dr. Beddom probing for the ball but it had passed through him. We had all determined to attack Fort Garry when this deplorable murder took place.¹⁷ Parisien was taken down covered in blood, by Dr. Beddom and kept him [sic] in his own house until he was healed up, down in St. Andrews. He worked about and afterwards committed suicide by jumping off a steamboat on Lake Winnipeg.¹⁸

After the murder of Sutherland a panic began by his mother and other Kildonan women crying and beseeching the men from the lower parishes to separate or they would all be murdered, kneeling and clasping them round their legs and imploring and they and the Clergy urging Boulton and his men from the Portage not to start a civil war. The lower Parish men were all disbanded and went home and we the Portage men, some 50 in number, were left alone to get back to the Portage as we best could. Murdoch took Dr. Schultz as far as Dr. Bird's and then got Henry Monkman's [sic] who took the Dr. through to Duluth on snow shoes. When Murdoch got back and up to Inkster's the whole number, including Boulton, was there, some 48 excepting C. Mair, F. Ogletree, Sandy Cameron, Jno. Setter and Wm. B. Hall who had not joined the others at first but remained at Kildonan consulting what was best to do. Deciding to push at once out on the prairie and skirt Fort Garry unseen these went on to Inkster's and found all there having just rec'd a promise, through Flat Boat McLean from Riel that they could all pass Fort Garry in peace.¹⁹ Mair and his fellows advised the others to follow them that they were going to strike out on the prairie at once. They said they were very tired and hungry and would have supper and take a sleep and follow us²⁰ before day light. Murdoch wanted to go but Boulton and

¹⁷Cf. *Ibid.*, 102, 104-5.

¹⁸Other accounts state Parisien died of his wounds; cf. *ibid.*, 310n and A. Begg, *The Creation of Manitoba* (Toronto, 1871), 285.

¹⁹Cf. Morton, *Begg's Red River Journal*, 106-7.

²⁰I.e., "Mair and his fellows." The occasional change of person suggests an oral statement.

all wanted him to stay with them though he knew it was a very dangerous move. At break of day they started out, following our path and when opposite Fort Garry about 2 miles out a band of about 700 on horse and foot came out from Fort Garry to meet them. Murdoch then sent old man Pocha, Susie and Henry's father, out to meet the French half-breeds to talk with them and call out to him what they said so that he, Murdoch, could tell Boulton. Boulton got fairly cowed and cried like a child. At this Murdoch insisted on Sgt. Major [sic] Powers to take the lead and defend themselves. Powers, a Catholic, said he could not take the command out of the hands of his superior officer in the field. Murdoch actually put a pistol to Boulton's head and told him to be a man and go right on, Powers standing at B's right hand, the French being about 200 yds off with Pocha about half way. A half-breed called Richot came up to Pocha and shouted out, "Don't fire, my brother! We only want to shake hands with you and part as friends before you go home." Murdoch said, "Don't believe him!" and said to Dan Sissions, another brave man, "Take you the lead and I will guard the rear", the rest of the fellows being disheartened by Boulton's conduct²¹ and the large number of rebels stood still until the rebels all came up with Lepine and began shaking hands all round and Lepine, seeing you [sic] came up very civilly and spoke to Murdoch in French and Boulton and Powers. Then O'Donohue came up but kept outside the bunch and yelled out to Lepine to give his orders, which were to take the Loyalists' guns, horses and sleighs and turn us all to Fort Garry, but only, Lepine said, to shake hands with Riel. M. said that no French half-breed would take his rifle for Coulet came up to take his rifle and cutter, Lepine right in front, when Murdoch struck him between the eyes and knocked him down. O'Donohue was coming and M. took aim at him and would have fired had not Powers thrown up his rifle barrel. O'Donohue then started off alone ahead of the party all by this time on the move for Fort Garry. M. had to take hold of Boulton and force him into his cutter the others being he and Powers and Tom Scott all together. On arrival at Fort Garry, [they] were searched and stripped of everything, their pocket-books and knives, etc., and taken up stairs in the H.B. officers' quarters and distributed in 6 rooms. Boulton and M. were put in irons, hand cuffs and shackled and kept so for 43 days. Boulton was condemned to death and when Arch²² McLean came in to administer the last sacrament to him M. was taken to another room and Boulton was alone with the Archdeacon. By this time the loyal people held meetings and appointed delegates to meet Riel's delegates, D. A. Smith and Clergy pleading for Boulton. The real credit, however, was due to John Sutherland's wife who pleaded with Riel and said, "I will forgive the death of my son if you will spare Boulton's life," and Riel, really moved by this, consented. This news Murdoch got from old Susie DeLorme, capt'n. of the guard and an old friend of M.'s who cried like a child when he handcuffed him. This was the plea which saved Boulton's life and it was creditable to Riel, who cared for none of the Clergy or D. A. Smith, who claimed the whole credit for this.²³ When the English delegates were appointed, Alfred Scott a Yankee Fenian and Ted Turner the old pensioner's son and also a Fenian, came to the party's prisoners and wanted them to appoint Dan Shea, a notorious Fenian who had a horse ranch at Portage Creek, their delegate to the convention. Tom Scott cried out "Boys, you can do what you like but I won't consent!" He was

²¹Abbé Dugas describes Boulton as "un jeune et brave militaire, de belle figure et de manières distinguées": *Histoire Verdique des faits qui ont préparé le Mouvement des Metis, à la Rivière-Rouge en 1869* (Montreal, 1905), 167n.

²²Cf. Morton, *Begg's Red River Journal*, 107-8, 317.

then ironed with the irons which had been taken off Boulton. Boulton was then let out, and shortly after went back to Ontario, and then M. was taken back to Boulton's room next to the one on the east side which had been occupied by Dr. Schultz before his escape, and who, after he got over the wall, was driven back by Willie Drever or some other friend to MacBeth's, the night being very stormy.

Scott and M. were in separate rooms and the window glass being all broken it was very cold. The delegates met and had a council and discussed the Bill of Rights and O'Donohue insisted on Riel's behalf on a Prov¹ Government. They did not all agree and as far as M. could find out from the French, John Sutherland was urged by Gov. McTavish to form a Provisional Government—this as O'Donohue had urged.

This was done, Tom Bunn and Jas. Ross being the only English members. Scott was then condemned to be shot and was shot on Friday, 4th of March following, just opposite the eastern gate and M. was also condemned unheard and was to be shot on Sunday, so he was informed. The firing party were headed by old Parisien and 2 sons, also a French half-breed called La Prairie from Fort William (and afterwards shot at Fort William) the one who fired the pistol in Scott's ear when shot, & Richot (killed at Pembina) and another French half-breed from Pembina called Ducharme (shot at Devil's Lake). Old Parisien shot at Pembina Mountain near St. J., one of the sons was shot and one was drowned. Tom Clover was also one of the firing party, one of the men did not fire but he was one of the party.²³

Bishop Taché was expected in every day and when he arrived the prisoners let go a few at a time but M. was still kept in prison. Bishop Taché came in to see M. and said, "I am sorry that I cannot let you go but I shall see that you are not shot". Then George Black, who had consented to go to Ottawa with Father Richot and Alfred Scott, refused unless M. was released. It was discussed and Black got word to him that he would stand at Gov. McTavish's front door visible from M.'s window and wave his hkf. if he had good news, or drop it. At midnight he gave the signal by lantern light and when Tom Bunn and Jim Ross and Lepine called at his room and made great friends with me [*sic*] and tried to get me [*sic*] to join the Prov¹ Govt., which he refused to do. Lepine then took the irons off him and he was taken in to the Council room to take the oath. He said he would till the soldiers came. They kept his money and horses and drove him in Gov. McTavish's cutter down to Dutch George's full of Fenians.²⁴ He wouldn't drink with them and went up to Crozier's and Bannatyne lent him his horse and cutter to drive home to High Bluff and was brought back by the mail carrier, Charley Tait of Poplar Point.

In May, a band of the rebels with Lepine went to the Portage but the man they wanted, viz., Murdoch had gone to Manitoba Post where Ewen Macdonald was in charge. During the blizzard at Headingly, Wm. Gaddy and Sabine volunteered to go down to St. Norbert to interview Wm. Dease, half-breed, known, though married to a French half-breed like his father, to be opposed to Riel, to know what he would be able to do, but were both taken prisoners and Gaddy was confined to the S. West bastion and condemned to be shot. But he mysteriously disappeared and it was discovered that a hole had been dug under the bastion facing the river and out of this the old buffalo hunter escaped, no [doubt] connived at by some friendly half-breed but he would never tell.²⁵ He got up to

²³A list substantially different from that given by Begg in his *Journal*; cf. *ibid.*, 328.

²⁴March 24, 1870.

²⁵Cf. Riel's account, quoted in Morton, *Begg's Red River Journal*, 537.

Wm. Bourke's at St. James and they secretly took him back to the Portage. Wm. Hallett was taken before we came down from the Portage, ironed and put in Dr. Schultz's old room and very badly used but when the Convention met he was let go when Ross and Bunn joined the Prov^L Government a few days before Riel was declared President. His mind was a wreck and about the time we got to Headingley he took his life by shooting himself.

Old Mr. Donald Gunn was one of the oldest Selkirk settlers and a thorough Loyalist but too old to take an active part.

John Sutherland had a half-brother christened the same name who was generally called "The Scotchman" and who was a great Loyalist and quite unlike his brother in politics.

John Norquay was teaching school at High Bluff, was Premier of Manitoba afterwards but took no active part in the Rebellions though strongly opposed to Riel. M. was a great friend and was instrumental in getting him elected by acclamation to the first Parliament.

One-armed Matt was in charge at Pembina during the Rebellion and his brother accountant at Stone Fort 20 miles below Fort Garry. Then Geo. Davis had charge of Stone Fort and was moved to the Portage and Jas. Flett took his place.

Walter Traill was in charge at Georgetown in 1868 but was afterwards removed to Riding Mountain post No. Dauphin.²⁶ Murdoch McLeod's statement re Jo. Howe. Jo Howe came in and passed Macdougall and all of our party and went on to Winnipeg and had a council with Gov. and Jack MacTavish, Bannatyne & others and then went over to St. Boniface and consulted with the Priests and half-breeds and told them afterwards at a meeting of French half-breeds at St. Charles, at which Murdoch was present. He knew of it from some French half-breed whom he met at Sturgeon creek and who told him there was a big man come from Ottawa who was going to address a meeting in the French Church at St. Charles and M. went along with them. Howe told them that MacDougall [was] bringing all his Council with him and that he would use them as he did their priests in the Manitoulin Island and advised them not to consent to his coming in.²⁷ Richot and several other priests from St. Boniface accompanied Howe to this and to the other meetings which M. was not at. Of course the poor French half-breeds did not know anything but did just as they were told. M. knew most of them being in the H.B. Service in different parts. The French half-breeds of the Saskatchewan or Pelby never came down to take part in the Rebellion and the Plain hunters did not come though they came in to Winnipeg. They simply sold their furs at outposts and hurried back from Winnipeg taking no part and a good many Red River men skipped out with them.

²⁶There is no readily apparent explanation for the inclusion of these particular names in the document.

²⁷Cf. G. F. Stanley, *The Birth of Western Canada* (London, 1936), 64: "Others expressed the opinion that Howe's journey did more harm than good . . . [The] *Globe* . . . stated that Howe had urged the settlers to follow the example of Nova Scotia and fight for 'better terms.'" Also cf. Morton, *Begg's Red River Journal*, 44: "there is no reason to doubt that [Howe] meant not to foster rebellion. . . ."

Professor Morton also states (*ibid.*, 41-2): "A baseless story, evidently originated by missionaries, was circulated to the effect that in conclusion of a treaty with the Indians of Manitoulin Island in 1858, which was opposed by the Catholic missionaries, McDougall as then Minister of Public Works had accepted responsibility for grave corruption and intimidation of the Chiefs" (from P.A.C., Macdonald Papers, 516, Macdonald to John Rose, December 5, 1869).

Reviews

History Paperbacks in 1958

PERHAPS THE MOST INTERESTING feature of the publishing business in the past few years has been the advent of serious paperbacks. In 1956 between 250 and 400 million paperbacks were sold, most of them admittedly of the cigar-store variety. Yet, according to the New York *Herald Tribune*, which recently devoted a supplement to paperbacks, Anchor Books, "a rigidly highbrow reprint series," has sold over five million copies since its inception in 1954. History is certainly by no means the most popular field. Yet a rapid glance at a list of paperbacks in print reveals that a substantial, if uneven, historical library is available, ranging in price from 35¢ to \$2.50. Believing that it will be of interest to students, scholars, and laymen we have undertaken a survey of the volumes published in 1958 sent to us for review. For purposes of convenience the books are grouped by publisher, although subsequent reviews will have more logical topical or regional organization. Except where otherwise indicated members of the Department of History at the University of Toronto contributed the information for this survey. Only the more extensive reviews are credited.

The Anvil Originals

THE SPECIAL INTEREST of Van Nostrand's Anvil series to university and collegiate teachers has led to an examination of the series as a whole, although many volumes were published before 1958. Now including forty-one volumes,¹ the series represents a considerable experiment in historical publication. Each book is an "original," as distinguished from a reprint, divided equally between text and documents except in a few cases where it is completely documentary. Three scholars have reviewed the series in the three fields of general European, intellectual, and Anglo-American history.

Nothing is more striking about the Anvil volumes on general European history than the considerable disparity in the quality of the volumes. Among the most satisfying are those by Leo Gershoy on the French Revolution and Geoffrey Bruun on the Revolutions of 1848. Gershoy's *Era of the French Revolution* is a well written and balanced account of the decade preceding the coup of 18 Brumaire. Beginning with an analysis of the weakness of the *ancien régime* and the failure of both monarchy and aristocracy to provide reform, the author weaves interesting

¹Seven volumes are not included in the review, in most cases because they arrived too late: Buss, *Southeast Asia and the World Today*; Wellbank, *Contemporary Africa*; Tiedemann, *Modern Japan*; Janowsky, *Foundations of Israel*; Downs, *Basic Documents in Medieval History*; Billington, *The Westward Movement in the United States*; Brockway, *Basic Documents in United States Foreign Policy*. Two volumes on Canadian history will be reviewed in a later issue.

history out of the warp of events in France and the woof of their impact on America and the rest of Europe. The entire fabric is embellished with a set of documents which complements rather than duplicates J. H. Stewart's famous collection.

Geoffrey Bruun's *Revolution and Reaction 1848-1852* contains as clear a discussion of the complicated subject of the mid-nineteenth century revolutions as can be crammed into ninety pages. Some unevenness in treatment is to be expected: the sections on the revolutions in France and the Germanies lack sparkle, and this reviewer would like to have seen further connections drawn among the various movements of romanticism, nationalism, liberalism, and socialism which played such important rôles in the revolutions. These defects, however, are more than compensated by rather excellent summaries of events in Italy and the Hapsburg Empire and a concise but brilliant conclusion on the significance of 1848. As illustrative material the documents are adequate.

Of the two works on Russia, Hans Kohn's *Basic History of Russia* is particularly commendable for its amalgamation of cultural achievements with political events. Special attention is given to the persistent conflict between Eastern and Western ideas which permeates so much of Russian literature and political thought. The treatment of the nineteenth century is broad and sympathetic; that of Soviet Russia is altogether too brief and antagonistic. Kohn does point out, however, the continuity between Tsarism and Leninism. J. S. Curtiss' essay, *The Russian Revolutions*, is essentially a study of developments between the February and October Revolutions of 1917, with an Introduction pulling together the threads of reform and reaction from the Emancipation of 1861, and an Epilogue tracing the consolidation of Bolshevik power to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The author stresses the fact that the Bolsheviks did not triumph due to their specific programme, but rather because the Provisional Government failed to act rapidly enough in instituting agrarian reform, calling a Constituent Assembly, and establishing peace; Lenin profited from the mistakes of his predecessors. Both volumes on Russia suffer from too heavy a reliance on other collections for most of their documents.

Amongst the most welcome volumes is *The Medieval Town* by J. H. Mundy and P. Riesenbergs, which fills the need for a comprehensive survey of mediaeval urban life (with due deference to the works of H. Pirenne, M. V. Clarke, and C. Stephenson). In this essay Mundy treats town life as one aspect of the general revival of Europe, relating it to the rise of commerce and industry following the eleventh century. He presents, in effect, a kaleidoscopic view of late mediaeval economic developments. Mundy does not seek a single theory to explain the rise of towns, but recognizes the complexity and variety of factors associated with their origins. He briefly outlines the struggle of these new corporations for liberty and independence from feudal lords and considers at some length the internal conflicts among the oligarchic Patriciate, the nascent aristocracy, and the lower classes. His treatment of the development of urban institutions is superlative. Throughout, a distinction is drawn between the communes of Lombardy and those of northern Europe, although the difference is shown to be mostly one of degree and time-lag. Mundy has done well in illustrating his points with information culled from his own study of Toulouse, while the documents selected by Riesenbergs show variety both in content and origin. All in all, this is a fresh approach to the subject, but one which is not without its faults. The author assumes a good deal of familiarity with the topic, and the essay may be beyond the audience for which it is intended. Certainly the writing, which at times is a bit laboured and prone to sociological terminology, could have been improved.

Roland H. Bainton's forte is religious thought, and his *The Age of the Reformation*

tion—a highly readable summary of much of his earlier works—naturally reflects this. In its limited pages he has managed to include short but thorough discussions of the theological issues involved in the Protestant revolt, the distinctions and similarities among the churches, and individual reformers, as well as the elements of the toleration controversy that ensued. Unfortunately, Bainton neglects political events and the general conditions that enabled the Protestant Reformation to succeed, and he sees the Reformation very largely through the eyes of Luther. Nevertheless, there is an interesting chapter on the Catholic Reformation, although more could have been said about the Erasmian influence on it. As would be expected, most of the documents illustrate the thought of the period, and these have been selected widely.

The two essays by the editor of the series, Louis L. Snyder, leave much to be desired. His *Basic History of Modern Germany* is essentially a political history of Germany as interpreted by one who sees a peculiar psychological and sociological explanation for German behaviour. As a result of a necessary reconciliation of historical extremes in German life there was produced a sort of unhealthy nationalism that culminated in Nazism. The whole of German history, therefore, is considered a prelude to Hitler, who was made possible by the traditions of "Hegelian worship of the State, Prussian intransigence, militarism, nationalism, romanticism, and historicism." Snyder's discussion of German nationalism is indeed penetrating, but he has committed the mistake of isolating the German experience to the point where it naturally appears unique. In contrast to his book on Germany, Snyder's *The World in the Twentieth Century* contains a minimum of interpretation, which is understandable considering the lack of proper historical perspective. But it is a rather ordinary account of the century, falling below par in its treatment of the causes of World War I and rising well above in its description of the intellectual currents of the age. The documents on German history, although important ones, often duplicate what is included in other volumes in the series; those on the twentieth century are brief and are expected to be supplemented by the author's *Documents of the Twentieth Century*.

With J. A. Corbett's *The Papacy*—even granting the enormous difficulty of condensing this topic into such limited space—the series reaches a low point. As sound history this book is questionable; as a papal apologia it is too naïve to be convincing. The author makes a Thomistic claim (p. 11) for the compatibility of historically and theologically discovered truths, but then proceeds to fit the whole of European history to the Procrustean bed of his own Catholic teleology. What results is a history of the struggle between the force of good—the Papacy, and the forces of evil—the persecuting Roman Emperors, the Caesar-papism of Constantine and Charlemagne, the ambitions of the Hohenstaufen, Joseph II, and Napoleon, and the *realpolitik* of Bismarck. The Protestant Reformation and the secular French Revolution, of course, share in the discredit. All the defects of the popes are traceable to these Satanic forces, and all their successes were accomplished despite them. The documents were apparently chosen to reflect the author's views; for example, between the *Ratione peccati* of Innocent III and the *Excrabilis* of Pius II, a period which includes the stay at Avignon, the Great Schism, and the Conciliar Movement, not a single document is included.

Despite the uneven quality of the volumes and the often hackneyed collections of documents, the publishers of the Anvil series are to be commended for having undertaken a project of such scope. It is the hope of this reviewer that in the future more attention will be given to mediaeval and early modern Europe to balance the already heavy emphasis on the last century and a half.

[EDMOND M. BEAME]

The tension between the classical tradition and the various counter-movements which it evoked constitutes a dominant theme in the intellectual history of Europe. This dialectical process is traced with admirable lucidity and organization in the volumes on intellectual history in the Anvil series. The secular origins of the European tradition are located and mapped with accuracy and point in Walter R. Agard's *The Greek Mind* and Paul MacKendrik's *The Roman Mind at Work*. Both works are admirably organized, and resolutely avoid an excessively routine and formal approach: Roman *fortitudo*, for example, emerges as "the cult of the stiff upper lip." The Stoic concept of a natural cosmic order and harmony furnished the apostles of the Enlightenment with an intellectual measuring-rod which they applied to religion, government, and economic activities in turn. This complex process is summarized in Louis L. Snyder's highly condensed volume on *The Age of Reason*, a notable performance. But assuredly some mention ought to be found here of Pierre Bayle, whose contribution to the secular and critical temper of the modern mind has been justly emphasized by Hazard and Toynbee, and it can no longer be safely affirmed that "it has become fashionable to disparage the Malthusian doctrine as out-of-date" (p. 56).

J. S. Schapiro's learned and suggestive analysis of *Liberalism: Its Meaning and History* stresses in reaction against Marxian social philosophy the transformation of *bourgeois* liberalism into democratic liberalism. But one seeks in vain for a methodical inquiry into the collapse of the Liberal party in England between 1906 and 1929, surely one of the most significant events in the decline of latter-day liberalism. Nor can the intellectual origins of liberalism be fully grasped without reference to the classical and Christian doctrines of natural law and natural rights which were adopted by Locke and the *philosophes* and filled with a revolutionary content. Hans Kohn's penetrating study of *Nationalism: Its Meaning and History* rightly points to the revival of the Greco-Roman ideal of civic virtue as an intellectual dynamic of modern nationalism. Its influence was equally evident in Rousseau's admiration of the Greek *polis* and in the cult of the ancient Roman republic which characterized the earlier stages of the French Revolution.

The continued reaction against revolutionary Jacobinism and its progeny is traced with sensitivity and insight by Peter Viereck in his *Conservatism: From John Adams to Churchill*. The roster of conservative philosophers begins almost inevitably with Burke; but it is worth recalling that France before 1789 produced a doughty school of historical conservatives, best exemplified perhaps by Boulainvilliers. Nor was Burke immune to classical influences: his concept of the *res publica* as an inheritance to be revered and transmitted intact to posterity was distinctly Ciceronian.

At the opposite extreme of political thought, Sidney Hook has added to the series a beautifully organized and pungent analysis of *Marx and the Marxists*. But the author provides no historical perspective to show that Marxism was only one of many mutations of the Communist philosophy which have been successively presented to European opinion from Plato onwards. Hans Kohn, in his *Making of the Modern French Mind*, succeeds brilliantly in conveying an impression of the unceasing ferment created in France by the interplay and collision of the various intellectual systems outlined in the previous volumes. There the classical prescription of authority, order, and stability is being applied once more to cure the political and moral maladies of the republic.

These scholarly and practical volumes are to be warmly recommended for the use of the student and general reader. Their quality and substance are undeniable. The preliminary essay to each topic is far more than a perfunctory introduction:

it furnishes the reader with a full initial orientation, though one wishes on occasion that a longer historical perspective had been adopted. The selections from original sources are organically interlinked with the Introduction. They have been chosen with discretion, and the translations are in general smooth and reliable. The Bibliographies, brief but valuable, are admirably designed to excite further interest in the subject. These handy manuals should find wide acceptance.

[C. C. BAYLEY, MCGILL UNIVERSITY]

Perhaps the outstanding defect of the Anvil series stems from the predilections (to use no stronger word) of the general editor Professor Louis L. Snyder of the City College of New York. Professor Snyder is a tireless apologist for the American way of life and some of his authors (though this is not true of all) exhibit a measure of exhortation that can only recall the nervous proclamations of Mr. Herbert Hoover in late 1929. According to Van Nostrand, "in each title a distinguished scholar offers an original analysis of a major problem area, incorporating the most recent research." In at least three of the ten volumes under consideration in this review the term "original analysis" is stretched to include a propaganda purpose. Professors Hacker, Salvadori, and Kraus set out unabashedly in defense of the proposition that the United States reveals the ultimate triumph of human endeavour and that the perils which beset that country therefore constitute the supreme threat to all civilized values. This thesis is something less than original but it is nonetheless vigorously pursued through the three texts and supported by judiciously selected readings.

American Capitalism: Its Promise and Accomplishment is described by the publishers as "a forthright affirmation of faith in the American economic system as the essential foundation of our freedoms." Louis M. Hacker (well advanced since his *Triumph of American Capitalism*) declares in his Preface that "capitalism means the intertwining of the economic and political processes by which, and only by which, democracy can be sustained." The text itself is a very rapid survey of American economic history. Indeed, its attempt to cover everything is its greatest weakness since it precludes any adequate defense by the author of his very extreme thesis. The various aspects of the thesis thus leap out and assault the reader who is absorbed, presumably, in an attempt to comprehend the statistical and chronological information. Furthermore, because of the brevity, internal contradictions abound. Professor Hacker asserts (p. 10) that successful capitalism required that "private property and the resulting unequal wealth and income had to be protected by law." Later (p. 62), he states that "no society can endure for long where inequities continue to exist." And again (p. 76) he writes: "social stability is linked with the equitable distribution of the social income." It is difficult to reconcile the first of these statements with the other two. The latter statements, of course, flow from accounts of depression periods and serve to explain the demands for governmental intervention in the interest of social equity. Thus Hacker, having castigated the absolute monarchies of an earlier day for their "unproductive" mercantilism, declares (p. 93) that after 1929 "advances had been made as a result of the acceptance of both governmental and business responsibilities." He notes that as a result of governmental intervention "the spread between income receivers was narrowing," but he fails to tell us what happened to his original premise mentioned above. With a somewhat spectacular disregard for logic he concludes: "It was no wonder that the American people . . . accepted

capitalism, with its processes of private accumulation and investment and its unequal wealth and income, as their habitual way of life." Fortunately the readings are well balanced between opinion and fact. Otherwise one might conclude that the book was best suited for a recently repatriated G.I. who had been subjected to communist brain-washing.

In *NATO: A Twentieth Century Community* Professor Massimo Salvadori also takes as his theme the triumph and defense of "people's capitalism." Singled out by President Eisenhower for his "clear and persuasive explanation of American democratic capitalism" the author takes up the cudgels against infidels like Stringfellow Barr's Professor Schneider. Since three-quarters of the text is devoted to the origins of the NATO "community" the book is primarily history. But the theme is enunciated when the author writes (p. 9) of the new collaboration "between those who had given birth to the modern phase of western civilization and now were the past, and those who had travelled farther along the path of that civilization and were the future...."

Since the United States thus becomes the manifest torch-bearer of western society Professor Salvadori attempts to tell us *why* this has happened—it is because the United States has best applied the concepts of liberty which evolved first in Western Europe. He finds the origins in the publication of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* and the events which followed. The successful revolt of the Netherlands and the exportation of Calvinist virtues to the British Isles and the New World completed the process—in the context of a growing capitalism. The author stops just short of declaring that Calvin was the unwitting tool of God in thus laying the basis of western freedom. He had to stop short, because he does not include any spiritual, let alone Christian values in his definition of "our way of life." He defines this last term thus: "A way of life based on liberty, its postulates (individualism and rationalism amongst others), its requirements (moderation and tolerance), its practical organization (democracy), its results (maximum variety of individual experience): this is what today makes North Atlantic civilization." The chief enemies in sight are "communism, fanatical nationalism and traditionalism." By "traditionalism" Salvadori means Roman Catholicism—particularly in its Mediterranean and South American manifestations, but with querulous regard to Christian Democrats in general. Since he also has uneasy doubts about the British "welfare economy" and the "co-operativism" of Scandinavia it is not difficult to see that he must rest his case upon the secularized Calvinism of the United States.

Because his survey of the past is designed to lead up to the necessity of NATO Salvadori stresses the rôle of ideas (which would be more stimulating if more carefully worked out) and he also ignores almost completely the blemishes in "our" history. The United States never fought wars of expansion, never experienced "fanatical nationalism," never suffered depressions, and, of course, the League of Nations and the Commonwealth of Nations never existed. Similarly the United Nations is bound to fail because it is dominated by communists and fanatical nationalists. This kind of history provides the basis for Salvadori's most astonishing opinion that it was the dissension within NATO at the time of the Suez crisis that allowed Russia to suppress the Hungarian revolt "without opposition from foreign powers" (p. 11). By far the best part of this volume is the selection of readings—mostly "charters of liberty" and items illustrating the growth of North Atlantic collaboration.

Professor Michael Kraus, while not as single-minded as Professor Salvadori, offers much the same thesis in *The North Atlantic Civilization*, which is drawn largely from his book *The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth Century Origins*

(1949). East-west interplay across the ocean has created an Atlantic civilization which now implies "the Americanization of Europe." Examining the interchange of ideas, people, and institutions the author argues that the "theories of political and religious freedom were usually conceived in Europe; America's gift was to demonstrate their practicality." Throughout both the text and the readings (all of which are documents of opinion and analysis), there are many illuminating statements and considerable useful information. It is difficult not to conclude, however, that the text is essentially an historical account of the United States and its relations with Europe. There is little attempt to describe the civilization as a whole, just as there is no breath of detraction. While we are now witnessing "The Decline of Europe" the author tells us that some power might be saved there since men like Spaak and Adenauer are working "with America's blessing" to unite Western Europe. The Commonwealth of Nations finds no place as an expositor of the values of western civilization.

Professor Fred A. Shannon's *American Farmers' Movements* is the most vigorously written of the volumes under review. The author does not share the unalloyed enthusiasm for the gleaming service of American progress which is the distinguishing feature of the volumes mentioned above. His purpose is an abbreviated, yet full-length history of American farmers' movements, and, as such, actually is an "original" in the field. Beginning with a lively account of revolts by Indian farmers he moves rapidly through the colonial and national periods, placing emphasis on the continuing problems of land-ownership, "parity," monopoly, monetary inflation, and credit. His discussion of the homestead legislation, the Farm Bureau Federation ("an organization that rapidly took on the big-business point of view"), southern populism and the recurring tenancy problem makes salty reading after the saccharine message of Professor Hacker. With the carefully selected documents this makes a very useful volume.

In Professor Rayford W. Logan's *The Negro in the United States: A Brief History* one finds an admirably restrained and scholarly presentation. The balance is perhaps off centre, with much the greatest weight given to the period since 1865. But for this there is compensation in the lucid description of the triumph of white supremacy and the twentieth century assaults on the bastion of southern reaction. Booker T. Washington is properly rebuked as an appeaser. But as the author recounts the seamy story of southern statesmen such as Tillman and gives the statistical record of lynching, the reader asks: how can Mr. Logan conclude that "there are grounds for hoping that 1963, the hundredth anniversary of emancipation, may be a year of jubilee"? Perhaps it is because he makes no comment on the newer forms of segregation in northern cities; on the real estate developments in Louisville, Chicago, or San Francisco; or on the fact that only fifteen of the states possess F.E.P.C. legislation. Surely the wonder of the story is not that the Negro has come so far, but that in Professor Salvadori's America it has taken him so long to get where he is. The supporting documents are well chosen—all are public papers and court decisions, concluding with *Brown v. Board of Education*.

Professor Richard B. Morris' work on the revolutionary period is well known and his volume *The American Revolution: A Brief History* is based upon his particular version of revision. It is, of course, a careful statement of the case, and manages to incorporate out of the way illustrative material. The reading selections are longer than the average of the series. With all its strong points, however, the volume presents a very nationalistic interpretation. In essence it is the story of a corrupt British oligarchy supinely bowing to the will of a mad monarch; heroic American action against stupidly led mercenaries; and a diplomatic triumph

in no way tainted by prior understandings with France. There is no consideration of the problem of communications. The second Morris volume *Basic Documents in American History*, reveals an even heavier nationalist emphasis. It is "designed to remind us of the principles upon which American greatness is founded. . . ." Certainly every one of the selections is useful to a student, but why assume that "greatness" is the only basic theme of American history? Out of the narrow range of forty-seven selections, five are the war messages of Madison, Polk, McKinley, Wilson, and Roosevelt. There is little here to reveal any weakness in the steady growth of "people's capitalism"—none of the great capitalist documents of 1861–5, nothing on the movements of revolt and reform. All is clear sailing down to the final basic document: President Eisenhower's Disarmament Proposals of 1955.

The distinction of Professor Carl Brent Swisher's name inhibits adverse comment, but one is bound to suggest that a different pattern would have made his *Historic Decisions of the Supreme Court* much more effective. His selection of cases is careful and the introductions excellent, but in attempting a too wide coverage the problem became insoluble. For example, *Munn v. Illinois* is included but no *Wabash* case; nor is there any reference to federal regulation until *Smyth v. Ames* in 1898. An extended essay, with case illustrations of the basic themes, would have been far more instructive. However, the long extract from *Watkins v. the United States* (1957), with its magnificent discussion of the rôle of congressional investigating committees is alone sufficient to justify publication.

Herman Ausubel's *The Late Victorians: A Short History* is the most successful of these ten titles. It interprets late-nineteenth century English history by using the great depression as the central informing fact. Thus it has a specific thesis, controllable within the space, and makes no attempt to "cover" the period. One may disagree with the author's emphasis on the post-1873 depression, but the thesis is developed with scholarly organization, the readings are closely related to the text (nor are they easily available elsewhere), and the chief political opinions and policies are clearly examined against an adequate factual background.

One might argue that the period since 1832 in British constitutional history is not particularly exciting—and it is no great surprise to find that Professors R. L. Schuyler and C. C. Weston take a full quarter of their book *British Constitutional History Since 1832* to arrive at the year 1832. The result is an extremely clear statement of the evolution from "mixed government" to democratic "crowned republic." The reason behind each statement is precisely, if briefly, given and the readings—beginning with Charles I's answer to the Nineteen Propositions and ending with the problem of parliamentary control of nationalized industries—effectively support the text. One surprising omission is an adequate discussion of the theory and practice of constitutional advisers, particularly in the context of dissolution and changes of government. Also, the use of the word "socialist" is very American, for example, when the problems of delegated legislation are seen primarily as socialist problems.

It seems clear that the best aspects of this series are seen in the titles which adhere closely to a defined and limited theme. The perils of wide-ranging coverage are great within the permitted scope. It is also evident that many volumes have a heavily American flavour and that before any one can honestly be recommended by a teacher it should be carefully considered for the balance it maintains between didactic manifest destiny and actual scholarship.

[KENNETH MCNAUGHT]

Other Series

LATE IN 1957 Harpers began the "Men of Wisdom" series, the first six volumes of which are devoted to Paul, Augustine, Buddha, Master Eckhart, John the Baptist, and Muhammad. (Presumably Christ is "in preparation.") Each book is less than two hundred pages and is a combination of text and extracts. The Augustine volume, for example, has a text by Henri Marrou of 120 pages and about 70 pages of snippets. What is rather odd about the series is that the texts were first published in Paris and now appear in a translation from the French. Yet the format is very American; about a third of each volume is taken up with illustrations, very well chosen and very well produced. The names of the authors are hardly household words, at least in North America, and some of the texts have a distinctly "potted" quality. While there are better works on each of the men included in the series, few are more attractively done, more readily available, or more likely to attract the freshman. It is a strong temptation to denounce Clio imitating *Life*, but in capable hands this sort of popular, illustrated, condensed history is very well worth doing, and, technically at least, it is done far better in the United States than anywhere else.

Doubleday's "Image Books" likewise have a religious content, the object of the series being "to make the world's finest Catholic literature available to all." The full series, as announced, is an attractive and varied one: novelists such as Bernanos, Waugh, Mauriac—and even *Maria Chapdelaine*; new translations of St. Thomas; and editors of the stature of Etienne Gilson, who also gets a "Reader" to himself. Yet from the five volumes at hand, one weakness is immediately apparent: the temptation to reissue, in gay new guise, books which have long since lost their usefulness. Hilaire Belloc's *Characters of the Reformation* and Fulton Sheen's *God and Intelligence in Modern Philosophy* fall into that category, while Barbara Ward's *Faith and Freedom*, published in 1954, is saved only by her brand of feminine high seriousness. On the other hand the two remaining volumes clearly indicate the potential value of the series. Justin McCann's volume on St. Benedict, now revised, is an excellent addition to the paperback field. Raphael Brown's new translation of the *Little Flowers of St. Francis* is to be entirely commended. With a bit of picking and choosing, then, teachers of history will find the "Image Series" well worth watching and drawing to the attention of their students.

Viking Portables (Toronto: Macmillan) have long been familiar to academics. Having completed the anthologies of poetry, Viking has now commenced to publish its "Readers" in paperbacks. The first to appear is the *Renaissance Reader*, edited by J. B. Ross and M. M. McLaughlin. Organized topically—An Age of Gold, The City of Man, The Study of Man, The Book of Nature, The City of God—the book contains an amazing amount of material in its 756 pages. Also included is a first-rate Introduction and a short Bibliography that most students will find useful. Inevitably the selections have to be short and are necessarily scattered. Yet, with proper guidance, there is enough here to whet the freshman's appetite and perhaps send him back to the sources themselves.

Grove Press has published the first volume in what promises to be a most important series of Evergreen Books, "Survey of World Cultures," edited by Thomas Fitzsimmons. Written by C. R. Barnett, with six collaborators and a large number of specialist advisers, *Poland: Its People, Its Society, Its Culture* is a first-rate discussion of contemporary Poland. Encyclopaedic in character and exhaustive in treatment, the book is based on a complete utilization of the Human Relations Area Files. Two short chapters on culture and society and the

historical setting preface the topical chapters—ethnic groups, religion, politics, the constitution, foreign relations, the economy, and the social structure. Not the least valuable sections are the statistical tables and the very full Bibliography. If later volumes maintain the high standard set by *Poland* the series promises to make readily accessible a most valuable reference library. Other Evergreen Books published in 1958 include E. E. Cummings, *Eimi, The Journal of a Trip through Russia*; Gerald Brennan's delightful travelogue, *The Face of Spain*; and Admiral Lord Mountevans, *The Antarctic Challenged*, a non-technical history of Antarctic exploration first published in 1955. It is in the rapid publication of further volumes in the "World Culture" series, however, that Grove can most surely establish in the social sciences that recognition it possesses in the field of modern literature.

The University Presses

THE GREAT SEAL BOOKS published by Cornell University Press are already close to the historian's heart, for they make important and often out-of-print works readily available at less than two dollars. Serious students may also find a small expenditure more economical in the long-run than a long wait on the library's recall list. All historians will welcome an inexpensive reprinting of Robert Redfield's *The Primitive World and Its Transformations*, while there are few who have not profited and will not continue to profit from frequent reference to Charles H. McIlwain's *Constitutionalism: Ancient and Modern*, first published in 1940 and already a classic. For the mediaevalist there are Sidney Painter's *French Chivalry* and Charles H. Haskin's delightful essays on *The Rise of the Universities*. Few reprints were more necessary than John U. Nef's profoundly interpretive *Industry and Government in France and England 1540-1640*, previously hidden in the *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society* where only the most determined undergraduate would dig it out. Equally desirable was a reissue of McIlwain's *The American Revolution: A Constitutional Interpretation*. Of a different nature is Cadwallader Colden, *The History of the Five Indian Nations*. Part I of the book, originally published in 1727, is best described by the author himself as an account to "show what Dangerous Neighbours the Indians have been, what Pains a Neighbouring Colony (who's Interest is Opposit to ours) has taken to withdraw their Affections from Us, and how dreadful the Consequences may be, if that Colony should succeed in their Designs: and therefore how much we ought to be on our Guard." Part II is a discussion of "The State of Affairs in New-York and Canada, at the Time of the Revolution in Great Britain."

An interesting experiment is inaugurated with the publication by Cornell of *The Age of Power* by Carl F. Friederich and Charles Blitzer. The volume is one in a series edited by E. W. Fox called *The Development of Western Civilization: Narrative Essays in the History of Our Tradition from Its Origins in Ancient Israel and Greece to the Present*. The series is aimed at the freshmen survey offered in American colleges, now served by an abundance of multi-volume texts. Each essay—this one is two hundred pages—is to be roughly a week's reading, and the first term is to end with the French Revolution. If subsequent volumes maintain the high standard of mature synthesis and summary of *The Age of Power* (1610-1713), and if the students can handle the reading, Cornell and Professor Fox will have performed an admirable service. At any rate this is one paperback series that historians should keep in mind.

With the exception of the marginal *Folk Tale, Fiction and Saga in the Homeric Epics* by Rhys Carpenter, the University of California Press has recently added only one historical title to their paperback list. René Grousset's *The Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire* admirably fulfils the general canons of paperback publishing. Broad in scope, with the emphasis on the development of Chinese civilization, well written, and well translated for widespread consumption, it provides a good introduction to the study of Asian history. While the detailed treatment ends in the seventeenth century, a final chapter traces in broad strokes the history up to the mid-nineteenth century when western power and ideas made the imperial structure obsolete.

Unlike Cornell, the University of Michigan Press' Ann Arbor Paperbacks has followed the general practice of reissuing standard biographies and works in the broad field of intellectual history. The only exception at hand is Crane's *The Southern Frontier, 1670-1732*, a standard work in American colonial history originally published in 1930 and for many years out of print. Gilbert Chinard's *Thomas Jefferson: The Apostle of Americanism* and Allen Tate's somewhat more popular *Stonewall Jackson*, both published in the late 1920's, complete the list of history proper. The fourth volume in American history is Schneider's *The Puritan Mind*, slightly dated since its appearance a generation ago, but still an important and fascinating study of early American puritanism.

The Puritan Mind is much of a kind with the other volumes published, all of which relate in one way or another to the great religious debate of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sir Ernest Barker's *Church, State, and Education* (originally published as *Church, State, and Study*), is the kind of nourishment young students do not get enough of, as they plod their way through a mountain of term papers and mid-term exams. Nor will anyone question the decision to reissue R. W. Chambers' *Thomas More*. Louis I. Bredvold's *The Intellectual Milieu of John Dryden*, and Austin Warren's *Richard Crashaw: A Study in Baroque Sensibility* should not be completely overlooked. The Dryden in particular is as much concerned with political thought as with literature and the author argues that his poems on politics would "profit the historian of political thought as much as the writing of Hobbes—certainly more than the treatises of Filmer." It might also be added that in publishing G. B. Harrison's *Elizabethan Plays and Players* and *Shakespeare at Work* Ann Arbor has not only benefited the men of letters, but also those historians who seek to bring Elizabethan England to life and coat the pill of political and constitutional history.

As its contribution to the world of paperbacks, the Oxford University Press offers the Galaxy Books, a "quality" series. It merits this description because the price is high as paperbacks go, and because they are directed to the "Discriminating Reader." Judging by the titles issued to date they are unlikely to attract mass sales. With a single exception, all four volumes were originally published by Oxford, in New York, London, and at the Clarendon Press. All appear to have been reproduced from the original type; at least it is clear and surrounded by an ample margin. Students and teachers will welcome their renewed availability. A. S. Turbeville's *English Men and Manners in the 18th Century*, which showed the grace of the golden age in its profuse illustrations and its less attractive aspects in the sober text, is now a generation old. Despite the research done in the interval, it is an attractive volume to place in the hands of the student who might otherwise not get beyond the summary chapters of Trevelyan,

and it is a useful corrective to the too exclusive devotion to political and constitutional history which is the legacy of Namier.

Herbert Muller's *The Uses of the Past*, originally published in 1952, is making its second appearance in paperback, having been issued as a Mentor Book in 1954 at a quarter Oxford's price and in an almost unreadable print. It remains an extremely useful and provocative introduction to the problem of the meaning of history, in the scientific tradition of Bury, though far less optimistic. Ernest Barker's *Reflections on Government* is an interesting example of Barker's liberal ideas. With its stress on the realization of liberty as the objective of government, and its vindication of the democratic state, it is perhaps as relevant in the late 1950's as when it was first published in 1942. W. MacNeile Dixon's *The Human Situation* contains the Gifford Lectures for 1935-7. They constituted something of a landmark in this distinguished lectureship in Natural Theology, by taking seriously the founder's injunction that the lectures must be popular. In setting forth "the undisputed and indisputable facts of the human situation, the circumstances in which we actually find ourselves," Dixon covers the whole field of modern scientific and philosophic speculation. Ranging from Plato to Walt Whitman, writing in a light and charming manner, and illustrating his analysis with copious and apposite quotations, he is refreshing and readable, provocative and, two decades later, pertinent, at least in the questions raised if not in the answers suggested so unpretentiously.

Commercial Publishers

IN ITS LENGTHY LIST of titles on literary and historical themes Grosset's Universal Library (Toronto: McLeod) has included a number of books on American history of which the following are representative. These are all fairly well-known works, originally published within the last quarter-century, and now reprinted in full but without revisions. Although varying considerably in usefulness and interest to the student and reader, they are all, with one possible exception, worth being made available in a low cost, paperback edition.

Thomas J. Wertenbaker's social and cultural analysis of the rise and decline of the puritan oligarchy was a work of wide research by a master historian, which still has a secure place in the historiography of the subject. Although less sympathetic to the Puritans than some works by New England historians, his *Puritan Oligarchy* remains a fair-minded and stimulating account of the Puritan impact upon early American civilization. The other volume which would perhaps be most useful to the undergraduate student is Handlin's sensitive discussion of the immigrant's adjustment to American life in *The Uprooted*. Here again we have a book written against a background of broad and intensive research by a master of the subject. It is not a formal history of immigration but an evocative and sympathetic story of how the European peasant was uprooted from his traditional home and transplanted to a soil where he could never really take root. This book, like Wertenbaker's, throws a strong shaft of light on the nature of American civilization.

The two women authors in this collection are not professional historians but gifted amateurs who have sought to capture the atmosphere of two great crises in American history. In *John Adams and the American Revolution* Catherine Drinker Bowen, who probably does more research than most card-carrying members of the guild, has painted a portrait of Adams during the first forty years of his life, that is, down to the signing of the Declaration of Independence.

Despite features that exasperate a humdrum historian the book is an extremely successful example of a technique which has been frequently used in recent years. In *Reveille in Washington, 1860-1865*, Margaret Leech takes us day by day through wartime Washington in a way that always holds our attention.

Of course, any group of books on American history is bound to include more than one on a Civil War theme. Eisenschiml's detective story, *Why was Lincoln Murdered?*, also the work of an amateur, attempts to show that Stanton was behind the assassination of Lincoln, and is no more convincing now than when it was first published. On the other hand, Bruce Catton's *U. S. Grant and The American Military Tradition* is a well-balanced short biography by one of the most prolific of Civil War historians. Writing in 1954 he was concerned to show why it "can be risky to put a professional soldier in the White House, not because the man will try to use too much authority in that position but because he will try to use too little."

Lastly, we have two books which raise more general questions. Both seem a bit dated now, but they help us to recall the climate of opinion of the 1930's. Laski's lectures on *The American Presidency* are still worth reading, although they tell as much about Laski as about the presidency. Above all, he argued that the powers of the presidency must be broadened in order to meet the needs of "the positive state." On the other hand, Walter Lippmann greatly feared the positive state, arguing that the trend toward collectivism would weaken the freedom of the individual. Some of Lippmann's *The Good Society* strikes a prophetic note. The problem has now taken somewhat different forms, and his solutions seem rather archaic; but his warnings against the danger of ordering human beings about for their own good will be received even more sympathetically today than in 1936.

Late in the year the Universal Library moved for the first time in the historical field away from its concentration on American history. The two well-known volumes published are presumably designed to attract the layman who seeks to be *au courant*. It is unlikely, however, that Trotsky's long and ponderous *Stalin* will attract the browser and the price of \$2.50 will not make it attractive to students. Leopold Schwartzschild's *Karl Marx: The Red Prussian* is not only lower priced but also eminently readable and is likely to find a wider audience.

The three Dutton Everyman Paperbacks (Toronto: Dent) are valuable in very different ways. Sorokin's *The Crisis of Our Age* has long been regarded as one of the most stimulating and provocative works of the last two decades. In a cheap edition it will doubtless have a wide sale and greater influence. Far exceeding it in sales may well be R. D. Charques' *A Short History of Russia*. An unabridged reissue of a work published in 1956, the paperback has already found its way into the libraries of many students whose teachers regard it as perhaps the best short history in print. Unlike most recent works on Russian history, Charques' *History* does not move forward impatiently to the Soviet period. A short final chapter alone deals with the period since 1917. The third Dutton volume is Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*. It is to be hoped that this represents the beginning of a series of such works, rather than simply a belief that the tales of Arthur will appeal to the whimsy of the public. At any rate for those of us who only read Monmouth in bits and pieces as schoolboys, the *History* is an excellent addition to the bedside reading table.

Historians, in particular, have been grateful to Beacon Press for such earlier reprints as Halevy's *Growth of Philosophical Radicalism* and Hofstadter's *Social*

Darwinism in American Thought, to mention but two. Excluding two books on the fringe of history—Grube's *Plato's Thought* and Gaster's *The Oldest Stories in the World*—the four new volumes are both admirable and peculiarly contemporary. Although Eric Bentley's *A Century of Hero-Worship* (a new and revised edition) may relate to an issue less burning than in 1944 when it first appeared it is by no means dated. And while few people will agree all down the line with Bentley's views on leadership and its problems in a democratic society, this is not to say that they can ignore either his arguments or his conclusions. Much the same may be said for Ernst Troeltsch's *Protestantism and Progress*. First published in 1912, this study likewise deals with a central problem of modern western civilization which has vital contemporary significance.

Given recent events in the southern United States and Africa, the republication of Herskovits, *Myth of the Negro Past* is timely. Originally published in 1941, the book is a full-scale attack on the myths surrounding the Negro: that the Negroes are of childlike character and can readily adjust to any social situation; that only the less intelligent Negroes were enslaved; that there is no common denominator of understanding or behaviour among the former slaves that were sent to the New World, and that the Negro is a man without a past. In a new Preface to a work which is of value not only in the American but also in the African field, the author observes that "in the face of the achievements of Africans, the distortions in the caricature of the African ways of life . . . no longer carry conviction to serious students. . . . And the American Negro, in discovering that he has a past, has added assurance that he will have a future." Of the final volume little need be said. Americans have had an intense interest in India since the 1920's, as the flood of books on Gandhi attest. The reissue of Nehru's autobiography *Toward Freedom* strongly suggests that one publisher at least feels that the interest has not diminished.

Many of the Beacon books are a good size and reasonably highly priced for paperbacks. Both Dover (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart) and Meridian (Toronto: Longmans) have published volumes which in both size and price are little different from hard-cover editions. The Dover edition of J. B. Bury's *History of the Later Roman Empire*, for example, is published in two volumes selling at two dollars each. The volumes are ordinary octavo, sewn and not gummed, and ready to put in your own library binding—much like almost any French book in fact. Both it and several of the Meridian books could fairly readily be found in a second-hand book store at less than half the price, and the question inevitably arises as to the expected market for such works.

Bury, of course, is a classic, as is the Meridian edition of Samuel Dill's *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, and if ready availability places them on more shelves it is all to the good. Max Margolis and Alexander Marx, *History of the Jewish People* (Meridian) is not a classic. Moreover, it is thirty years out of date, including the Bibliography. Thirty years may seem a short time for a book which begins at the Creation, but much has happened to the Jews since and new books have been published about them. On the other hand, Hannah Arendt's, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (Meridian) has been brought up to date. But in this case it hardly matters, since the author is primarily concerned with general principles of human conduct rather than history from a chronological aspect. Harold Lasswell, *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (Meridian) has likewise been brought up to date, but again the additions are hardly essential, apparently being largely second thoughts and things the author forgot to say the first time, which is natural enough in a book of this sort.

Two smaller Meridians are much worthier—even though it is annoying to find books at \$1.50 for which one so recently paid \$5.00: Arnold Toynbee's *Civilization on Trial* and *The World and the West* in a combined volume and, as an antidote, Pieter Geyl's *Debates with Historians*. The glamour of the name will undoubtedly and justifiably sell Toynbee to the half serious public as well as the serious student. Few students of history will bypass Professor Geyl's admirable collection of acid reviews so closely interwoven with their craft.

Vintage Books (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart) have continued to make their historical selections with unerring judgement. With perhaps one exception all of the recent volumes have been more or less aimed at the undergraduate and his mentors; and of the reprints the exception alone may not be familiar. Yet Amy Kelly's *Eleanor of Aquitaine and the Four Kings* (the four being her husbands Louis VII and Henry II and her sons Richard and John), is a fascinating, beautifully written, and well-documented biography. It is more than a biography; it is a study of the twelfth century, and in few other books does the century come so brilliantly alive. Three other reprints need no more than a mention: Becker's *Declaration of Independence*, Beard's *Economic Basis of Politics and Related Writings*, and Brinton's *Anatomy of Revolution*. Perhaps the great coup of the year has been the publication of Georges Lefebvre, *The Coming of the French Revolution*, translated with an excellent Preface and Notes by Professor R. R. Palmer of Princeton. Lefebvre is unquestionably one of the best—many would say the best—short introduction to the revolution. Priced at one dollar in Canada it is well within the budget of every undergraduate.

Also aimed at the college market is Richard Hofstadter's *Great Issues in American History: A Documentary Record*. Published in two volumes divided at 1865 the documents provide an admirable supplement to his *American Political Tradition*, published by Vintage in 1954. Professor Hofstadter has made no attempt simply to compile another collection of constitutional documents to compete in an already crowded field. His selections are broadly political and, as he states, argumentative or statements of opinion. The documents are grouped topically, lending themselves to the "problems approach," although a rough chronological sequence is followed. Each section is prefaced by a useful two page Introduction.

History used to be the most popular form of serious reading for the non-specialist. We must recognize that those days have gone by, and it has been decisively ousted by newer "social sciences." Nothing brings this fact more sharply to light than a cursory examination of the main medium of popular self-education—the "adult" paperback. In the cheap-cheap, or cigar-store sector of the field, which is the most important, only four publishers attempt to compete against the normal run of cheesecake and blood: Mentor Books, Dell, Pocket Library, and the Pelican series of Penguins. The last, being published in England, falls into the cheap-cheap bracket only by accident; almost anything could be printed by Penguins, and no generalizations will apply. Even here, one gets the impression that archaeology, anthropology, and almost anything except straight history, is what sells: and this impression is verified by the merest glance at the Mentor list. If we leave out philosophy taught by the historical approach, archaeology is the popular field nearest to history.

Here there is a very wide range of merit available. From Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers* (Pelican), or Gordon Childe, *The Pre-*

history of European Society (Pelican), original works by major experts who can also write, one can descend for example, via Leonard Cottrell, *The Ancil of Civilization* (Mentor), not an archaeologist but a frank, avowed and skilful popularizer, down to Victor W. Von Hagen, *The Aztec: Man and Tribe* and *Realm of the Incas* (Mentor), who drowns his quite genuine scholarship in a turgid and meandering style of which he is obviously proud. Nothing in archaeology, however, sinks as low as straight history is allowed to sink by John Van Duyn Southworth, *The Story of the World* (Pocket Books) which is at the best a conflation of high school texts, or Hendrik Willem Van Loon, *The Story of Mankind* (Pocket Library), which is all too obviously written for the self-educated by the self-educated.

The history of the United States, as might be expected, has fared much better than that of the outer world, with Allan Nevins and Henry Steele Commager's *The Pocket History of the United States* (Pocket Library), and William Miller, *A History of the United States* (Dell), providing two excellent surveys. Courtland Canby's *Lincoln and the Civil War* (Dell) is an interesting combination of text and extracts from contemporaries and later historians, and *The American Heritage Reader* (Dell), has a good collection of essays from the journal of the same name.

Most of these books, except *The Story of Mankind*, are either originals or abridgements. Among the distinguished reprints one should mention Walter Millis, *Arms and Men*, *A Study of American Military History*, and (on the fringes of history) Edith Hamilton, *The Roman Way* and W. P. Ker, *The Dark Ages*, all Mentor books. One wonders, however, how many readers of this kind of literature are going to get much out of Ker's distinctly dry and college-level approach.

For those who like to take a really broad view of history there is Ashley Montagu, *Man: His First Million Years* (Mentor), good ethnology and poor, scamped, social anthropology. Social anthropology with no historical pretensions is, of course, a very popular and well-represented field, as is also current affairs. History with a current affairs bias is a dubious case; but an honourable mention belongs to T. Walter Wallbank, *A Short History of India and Pakistan* (Mentor), where the title itself expresses an anxious balance between the two elements. It supplies the reader with what he ought to know for modern needs.

On the whole, the picture is disappointing for a historian. However, it should probably be said that if he has lost the ear of the non-specialist public, the responsibility for repairing this state of affairs rests not on the public but squarely on the historian.

Canadian

The History of the Hudson's Bay Company 1670-1870: Volume I: 1670-1763.
By E. E. RICH. London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society. 1958. Pp. xvi, 688, xv, maps, illus.

SOME TWENTY YEARS AGO the Hudson's Bay Record Society was established to publish the documents in the Company's archives. At that time the writing of a history of the Hudson's Bay Company was envisaged. This, the first of two volumes, covers the period down to the Peace of Paris, 1763. Professor Rich, by virtue of his position as editor of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, has gained

an unequalled knowledge of the Company's activities, and it is highly unlikely that there will be another such study undertaken for many years. Those interested in the history of the Hudson's Bay Company will, therefore, have to depend on the present study for a long time to come. For this reason the work should measure up to the most exacting standards of scholarship.

How well, then, has Professor Rich discharged his responsibility? On the whole, very well, in that he has provided much of the information on the early history of the Company that has long been wanting. The most valuable contribution made by the book is the detailed treatment of the Company's organization and financial operations. It was founded virtually on a shoestring by men from three different spheres of activity, the Court, the City, and the Royal Society; their total investment was only a few hundred pounds. In 1690, when the Company's charter was challenged in Parliament, the Company was described as being composed of some thirty adventurers, with a capital of £10,000, of which only half had been paid in. This description was not too far from the truth. Down to 1713 the Company operated in a hand to mouth fashion, borrowing the money needed for each year's outfit and waiting anxiously for the ships to return, perhaps with a good load of furs, perhaps with news that the posts had been captured by the French, perhaps not at all. And even when they did return with a good cargo there was the problem of selling the furs to be faced. Professor Rich gives a very detailed description of how the furs were marketed, both in England and on the continent, at Amsterdam, Hamburg, Narva, and Archangel.

Although the Company managed to pay dividends of 50 per cent in 1684 and 1688, 25 per cent in 1689, and in 1690 trebled its stock and declared a 25 per cent dividend, yet in 1713 it was on the verge of bankruptcy. Throughout the war years it had been kept afloat by the Governor, Sir Stephen Evans, a banker who committed suicide in 1711 on the mistaken assumption that he himself was bankrupt. No dividend was again declared until 1718 when 10 per cent was paid. From this point on, dividends were paid every year, to some thirty-five shareholders, until 1782 when La Pérouse captured York Fort. One reason for the eventual excellent financial position of the Company was that its nominal capital was small; in 1717 it stood at £31,500, compared with £10,000,000 for the South Sea Company. Another reason was that it emerged scatheless from the South Sea Bubble episode, but this more by accident than good management. By 1769 the total assets of the Company were valued at £340,365 13s. 7d.

It is a tribute to the impartiality of Professor Rich that he does not attempt to gloss over certain aspects of the Company's operations for which it has been much criticized. He confirms that the Bay posts trading was done "through a hole in the wall." He also describes in some detail how the Governors at the Bay cheated the Indians, by short measure and other means. The reasons why the Bay men did not expand inland in the face of Canadian competition is explained very cogently; one of the reasons being, interestingly enough, that the posts on the Bay depended to a large extent on the great flocks of geese and partridge for their food supply, and these birds were not to be found in large numbers inland; also, it was felt that posts established inland would merely diminish the trade at the Bay posts proper.

When it comes to dealing with the affairs of Canada and the English colonies to the south, however, Professor Rich is apt to err. When discussing the conflicts between New York and New France, he habitually refers to New England when New York is meant. The Iroquois seem to have covered most of North America since we find Iberville planning war on them from Fort Albany (p. 328), and we are informed that they were the tyrants of the American plains (p. 493).

Jolliet is refused permission by Colbert to settle among the Iroquois in the 1670's (p. 194)—obviously this should read Illinois. It is also stated that the Canadians did not reach Lake Winnipeg until the second half of the eighteenth century (p. 452) when, in fact, they were there well before the end of the seventeenth. Colbert is described as directing Canadian affairs until 1687 (pp. 194, 203, 240)—he died in 1683.

These are, admittedly, minor flaws, but they do point up that the book could have been much improved by more careful editing. Not only could these slips have been obviated, but some tedious repetition could have been eliminated. It might even have been possible to improve the style of the writing. There are passages in the book that are very well written indeed, but it is rather heavy going much of the time. One is too often jolted by such sentences as: "A further colonial irruption into French territory brought the New Englanders to Lachine" (p. 288). Quite apart from the mis-statement of fact, it would be difficult to contrive a more prosaic description of the Lachine Massacre. It should also have been possible to provide better maps. The Joseph Robson map of 1752 depicting the mouth of the Hayes River is not very useful by itself, and the two end paper maps are inadequate; too many places mentioned in the text are not marked and the lines of latitude on the map at the back of the book are ten degrees out.

The most serious flaw of all, however, is that there are no reference notes whatsoever. Nor is there even a Bibliography, only a few books listed at the end of each chapter. Professor Rich explains that notes were eliminated to reduce bulk, though other means could have been used to achieve this end, and that the "ordinary reader" would find notes, which merely cited documents in various archives in England and France, valueless. For the benefit of scholars, Professor Rich states, "special copies of the History will be offered to the Library of the British Museum, to the University Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge and to the Public Archives of Canada, further annotated copies will be available in the Company's offices in London and Winnipeg." Such an arrangement is quite inadequate for a work of this sort. At least the fact that there are some quite reputable universities in this country should have been considered.

W. J. ECCLES

The University of Alberta

Varied Operations. By HERBERT BRUCE. Toronto: Longmans, Green & Company. 1958. Pp. xviii, 368. \$6.00.

FEW CELEBRATED CANADIANS have had the time or inclination to publish memoirs, and the sources of Canadian history are the poorer for it. One distinguished and many-sided man, Dr. Herbert A. Bruce, has recently attempted partially to remedy this weakness. On the whole the result is somewhat disappointing, at least to the social and political historian.

Dr. Bruce has chosen to write a narrowly personal autobiography—chiefly for his two nephews, he says—and only occasionally does he allow himself wider scope. Sometimes his remarks are trenchant causing the reader to wish he had allowed himself more elbow room. One feels certain that Dr. Bruce's close association with the Canadian medical profession, the University of Toronto, Hepburn's Ontario, and national politics during the critical days of the Second World War provided him with more interesting material than he has chosen to reveal in this book.

Born a year after Confederation of Ulster Irish stock, Dr. Bruce was brought up according to a pattern which was fairly general in nineteenth century Canada

—rural surroundings, closely knit home life, Victorian literature, temperance, and general austerity. Here the virtues of hard work and achievement were learned in a demanding school. The Tawneyites of Canada may get support from Dr. Bruce's description of life in a Protestant Ontario home. Remarking on his early decision to become a surgeon, Dr. Bruce writes, "My younger brother Rupert . . . was quite different. He seemed to be headed for the Church, for where two or three were gathered together, he called on them to join in prayer. This youthful piety however subsided, and eventually he became a most successful business man."

Medicine and surgery were Dr. Bruce's first interests. His initial excursion into public life came during the First World War, when he became an outspoken and no doubt justified critic of the Canadian Army Medical Corps. Yet it was not until he had reached an age when most men are considering retirement that Dr. Bruce entered active public life. In 1932 he reluctantly accepted R. B. Bennett's second appeal to become Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario. Bennett feared "the spread of Communism, especially in Western Canada" and felt that men of Dr. Bruce's prestige in public life would help to stem it. As Lieutenant-Governor, his chief worry seemed to have been "Mitch" Hepburn's desire to close Chorley Park which he felt existed simply for the entertainment of "a bunch of aristocrats." Dr. Bruce successfully held the fort until his retirement in 1937; after that Hepburn triumphed. His differences with Hepburn, however, were not so serious as to prevent the Ontario maverick from offering the leadership of a coalition government to Dr. Bruce in 1942. It would be interesting to know if there was any relation between this offer and the National Government movement which was gaining some steam in 1942. On this point, as on his association with the Leadership League of earlier years, Dr. Bruce is silent.

By 1942, of course, this Cincinnatus had again accepted the call of public duty and taken his seat at Ottawa as the Conservative member for Toronto Parkdale. Possibly taking a cue from his friend L. S. Amery who early in 1940 had successfully demanded the resignation of Neville Chamberlain, Dr. Bruce in his maiden speech suggested that Premier King—"the world's outstanding practitioner of non-commitment"—should resign in favour of Colonel Ralston. Mr. King, not for the first time, refused to follow the British precedent.

Throughout the war, Dr. Bruce expounded policies markedly similar to those supported in the *Toronto Globe and Mail* by his friend George McCullagh. Incidentally, he, like Bruce Hutchison, tells us that the reason for King's reversal of his no conscription for overseas service policy was caused by the threat of resignation by high ranking military men. Dr. Bruce's vendetta with the Prime Minister culminated in his charge that the baby bonus legislation of 1945 was an outright bribe, a charge which led to his temporary expulsion from the House. Here Dr. Bruce's sincerity cannot be doubted for he clearly held liberal views on social security questions, especially on slum clearance and medical insurance.

Like Prime Minister Diefenbaker who introduces the book, one cannot agree with all of Dr. Bruce's views. Nevertheless the forthrightness with which he presents them must be respected as must the strong sense of public duty which carried him into public life after years of unceasing activity in his chosen profession. Still one is tempted to reflect that Dr. Bruce's significant contributions to Canadian life were in the field of medicine, and that the monument to his achievement is found not in Hansard, but in the Wellesley Hospital which he built in 1910.

G. RAMSAY COOK

The University of Toronto

Farmer Citizen: My Fifty Years in the Canadian Farmers' Movement. By W. C. GOOD. Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 294. \$5.00.

THIS ACCOUNT OF the author's life and work in the agricultural, co-operative, and political movements of the past half century is a significant addition to the somewhat scanty literature of those movements. All those interested in the agrarian history of Canada will read it, and it must be added to all the libraries specializing in that subject.

While the above is true, a reading of the book causes some disappointment. Mr. Good records new information and gives new comment of his own on the events of which his public life was part. But he sheds practically no new light upon the controversial issues in which he was an observer or a protagonist, issues such as the negotiations between the Liberals and the Progressives after the election of 1921, the King-Byng controversy, or the Regina Conference at which the Regina Manifesto was drawn up.

The reasons for this comparative barrenness are, I think, fairly apparent. Mr. Good is not interested in persons, has no forensic sense of humour, and possesses, paradoxical as it may seem, a strong distaste for politics. Thus the book is of less value for the historian, in quest of motive and actual turn of event, than it will be for the economist or the social scientist. The historian will, however, find something of interest in the early chapters on family history and education.

In this reviewer's judgment, however, the most significant parts of the book are those on Good's rôle in the 1923 session of the Standing Committee on Banking and Commerce, from which came eventually the creation of the Bank of Canada, and his influence on the subsequent course of monetary thought and the rise of Social Credit in Canada. Good was a serious thinker and his contribution to the development of monetary policy deserves recognition. Also his comments on Social Credit help illustrate the often demonstrated fact that monetary policy has been the *ignis fatuus* which has led Canadian and American radicalism into confusion and even reaction.

W. L. MORTON

The University of Manitoba

Canada: A Political and Social History. By EDGAR WARDELL MCINNIS. Revised and enlarged edition. New York and Toronto: Rinehart & Company Inc. 1959. Pp. xviii, 619. \$7.00.

IN THE YEARS since this work first appeared (1947) it has gained such wide acceptance as a college textbook from teachers and students that there is no need to comment here upon those virtues that make it a worthy complement to those other excellent general histories published in the same period—Donald Creighton's *Dominion of the North* (1944) and Arthur Lower's *Colony to Nation* (1946). The appearance of this trio constituted a landmark in Canadian historical studies, for they embodied in concise and articulate form the findings of many hands during a generation of fruitful scholarship and won a wide audience for these researches. While all three bore the stamp of the same great historical tradition, each revealed an individuality of viewpoint, sympathy, interpretation, manner, and quality of presentation; collectively, they conveyed to readers something of the shading and subtlety that characterizes Canadian history.

Now, like its fellows, the volume has appeared in a revised edition with an additional chapter entitled "A Decade of Expansion." In the course of its thirty-

eight pages the author extends his account through the postwar years with a judicious statement of Canada's economic, social, and cultural developments, its constitutional trends, political currents, and especially, its varied rôle in world affairs. Has a new period of Canadian history taken shape—an age of St. Laurent and Howe, its focus the years of prosperity, growth and domestic tranquillity, its boundaries V.J. Day and the rude shocks of the 1957 and 1958 general elections? Only the future can decide whether 1957 will rank in history with 1896, or 1911, or 1873, but historians will readily appreciate the utility of the electoral upheaval of 1957-8 as a convenient terminal date for a manageable segment of Canada's history. In the new chapter the author displays his fine sense of proportion and balance in an approach that tends to the factual statement rather than the interpretive commentary. His objectivity and moderation, however, do not completely efface mildly liberal sympathies in the field of domestic affairs, nor a more zealous internationalism in the realm of external relations.

A lesser purpose of the new edition was to effect a limited number of textual changes. That these are few reflects the fact that historical scholarship in Canada has not produced very many startling discoveries or drastic revaluations during the past dozen years, and also speaks well of the care and guarded caution of the original account. It is unfortunate, though, that the opportunity was not utilized to assimilate Newfoundland's history with that of Canada prior to 1949. The maps have been redrawn, but with somewhat mixed results from the standpoint of visual clarity. Considering the amount of critical, revisionist work in the field of New France history, it is not surprising that most of the rewriting appears in the early chapters. The table of contents downgrades "The Great Intendant" to "The First Intendant" though the account is little altered from the 1947 edition. More dramatic is the treatment accorded Frontenac, for any reference to the hapless Count's once lauded military and diplomatic skill has been thoroughly expunged from the record. *Sic transit gloria mundi!*

MORRIS ZASLOW

The University of Toronto

A Journey to the Northern Ocean. By SAMUEL HEARNE. Edited by RICHARD GLOVER. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited. 1958. Pp. lxxv, 301. \$6.50.

IN 1911 the late Dr. J. B. Tyrrell published Samuel Hearne's *Journey to the Northern Ocean* as a volume in the Champlain Society's series. It was an excellent piece of work, but it was not on sale to the general public. Needless to say, it has been out of print for years. Professor Richard Glover's volume is, therefore, most timely. So much has happened since 1911 and the advent of the airplane and air-mapping have so changed our ideas of the Canadian Northwest that Tyrrell's work now needs to be brought up to date. Glover has done this, but he has also accomplished much more. By his careful and exhaustive researches he has thrown new light upon the life and achievements of Samuel Hearne and has endeavoured to defend Hearne from his critics.

Hearne was a great explorer, but he was not a trained geographer. It has thus always been difficult to trace his route with any great degree of accuracy. Glover states that Hearne was "a splendid traveller." He was a close and keen observer, especially of wild life. Few explorers have possessed Hearne's abilities as a *raconteur*. His narrative is so interesting and his descriptions are so vivid, for example, the massacre at Bloody Falls, that the average reader tends to lose

sight of the real object of his journey which was to ascertain whether or not the copper ore found near the mouth of the Coppermine River could be commercially exploited. He thought it could not and his opinion remained valid until the advent of air transportation.

Glover's "Editor's Introduction" is a mine of information. He has, with deft strokes, painted a new portrait of Hearne, a more kindly and less critical picture than had appeared previously. He disposes of the legend that John Douglas, Bishop of Salisbury, rewrote Hearne's book for publication and clearly shows that not only did Hearne write his own book but spent most of his later life in preparing it for publication. Glover has carefully compared the original journals in the Stowe manuscripts in the British Museum with the printed version and has carefully noted the additions made by Hearne before publication. It is also fortunate that Dr. Glover is a naturalist and that he is able to appreciate to the full Samuel Hearne's interest in and knowledge of the wild life of the frozen north.

One regrets the omission of a modern map on which Hearne's routes have been traced, but on the whole this reviewer has found very little to criticize. Dr. Glover has done a fine piece of work.

WALTER N. SAGE

The University of British Columbia

European

Labour and Politics, 1900-1906: A History of the Labour Representation Committee. By FRANK BEALEY and HENRY PELLING. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1958. Pp. xii, 314. \$5.75.

THIS IS A WORTHWHILE contribution to the growing literature about the formative years of the British Labour party. The book is hardly, however, as the publisher would have us believe, "the first ever to make use of the unpublished records of the early Labour Party."

The authors tell us that they set themselves two tasks: to analyze the composition and strength of the political and industrial forces comprising the Labour Representation Committee after its organization in 1900, and to describe how the Committee was able to win a place for itself among the parliamentary parties. In fact, they make very little attempt to do the first job, and a satisfactory account of the tangled web of forces that at last caused British workingmen to support the notion of independent labour representation in the House of Commons has still to be written.

It is in performing the second of their tasks that the authors of this book have done students of British labour politics a real service. Earlier writers have tended to concentrate their attention on the national scene, and to examine the working of the Labour Alliance by studying the formally announced policy decisions of the I.L.P., the Trades Union Congress, the S.D.F., and other supposedly national organizations. This book gives us for the first time a detailed examination of "the local peculiarities" in the constituencies themselves—in the union locals, the constituency Liberal associations, the trades councils and so on, where candidates are rejected or accepted.

The style is on occasion more pretentious than need be. "The importance of religious affiliation in late nineteenth century politics need cause no surprise if

its traditional character is borne in mind: it did not necessarily imply the supremacy of spiritual over temporal matters" (p. 2), is an unfortunate way to begin a discussion of the connection between Protestant non-conformity and the Liberal party. And the observation that "practical politics defied even the Socialist ideal of universal brotherhood" (p. 8) to this reviewer sounds wise, but does not mean much.

There are, however, some very good things in the book. The analysis of the key by-elections in Clitheroe in 1902, and in Woolwich and Barnard Castle in 1903, is revealing of those constituency situations which often made impossible decisions that for a national party viewpoint seemed inevitable. There are two chapters on Taff Vale and its consequences that are very valuable. The reasons for the adoption of the Newcastle Resolutions in 1903 and their importance in subsequent Labour party history are both clearly indicated. And the Ramsay MacDonald—Herbert Gladstone agreement on Labour and Liberal candidatures in certain industrial constituencies is not only fully treated but is adequately documented as well.

J. H. S. REID

Canadian Association of University Teachers
Ottawa

1931: Political Crisis. By R. BASSETT. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1958. Pp. xvi, 464. \$8.25.

THIS IS A PROVOCATIVE and detailed study of an important political and constitutional crisis, but disappointing in its failure to tap any substantial unpublished primary sources. It may be asked whether it is not premature to attempt this type of detailed examination of a great historical event before it is possible to gain access to the private papers of most of the main participants. Perhaps Mr. Bassett would plead that as a political scientist he did not suffer from the historian's inhibitions in this respect.

Mr. Bassett apparently wrote the book with a view to dissipate what he considers to be the false legends that have grown up about the formation of the National Government of 1931 and MacDonald's alleged betrayal of the Labour party. Undoubtedly it is time for something to be said in MacDonald's behalf and Bassett makes out a strong case for the course MacDonald took in the crisis. He is less effective in his criticism of MacDonald's former colleagues and supporters who turned against him. He exaggerates the strength of MacDonald's position as party leader prior to 1931 and fails to account for the equanimity with which MacDonald remained for four years nominal leader of what, for all Bassett says, was virtually a Conservative Government after the election of that year. Mowat and the other pro-Labour writers to whom Bassett takes exception have shown pretty clearly that MacDonald was becoming more and more out of touch with his party throughout the twenties and indeed losing his faith in socialism. His undoubtedly ability and the magnetism of his personality kept him at the helm as late as 1931 but is it any wonder that once the spell was broken there was general relief at his departure?

Pending the appearance of a more scholarly work which is not likely in the near future Mr. Bassett's *1931: Political Crisis* will be indispensable for students of the inter-war period. The author knows what he is about and argues his case forcefully in the manner of an able legal brief. But the prospective reader should be warned that the book is heavy going, a chapter a day from August 20-4. Quotation is piled remorselessly on quotation to ensure that the author's point is

fully made; but most readers would have settled for less. For a book that is presumably written largely for an academic audience (who will have to fall back on library copies at the price of \$8.25) the slip-shod system of references (badly abusing the use of *op. cit.*) and the lack of a Bibliography are most annoying.

In a series of Appendices Mr. Bassett carries on his vendetta with most of the other authorities who have presumed to write on the subject from their particular bias. The reader will be left in no doubt where Mr. Bassett's lies. This reviewer would nominate him as a prospective biographer for Ramsay MacDonald, but one shudders to think how many pages he would require when the crisis of 1931 requires more than four hundred.

J. B. CONACHER

The University of Toronto

Peter the Great. By VASILI KLYUCHEVSKY. Translated by LILIANA ARCHIBALD. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1958. Pp. xii, 282, map. \$7.00.

THIS IS A NEW translation of parts of the famous Russian historian's *A Course of Russian History* and as such is superior to the earlier translation by C. J. Hogarth. Yet one doubts the wisdom of having the chapters dealing with the life and reforms of Peter the Great presented as a separate book. Klyuchevsky wrote for a Russian audience and no amount of editing will make his writings palatable to a non-specialist foreign reader (and the specialist will have to know Russian) because of the multiplicity of details not at all essential for an overall view of Peter's time. In this respect the late B. H. Sumner's study *Peter the Great and the Emergence of Russia* (1950), is much superior to Klyuchevsky's and adequately fills the need of an English-speaking student or general reader.

The personality and actions of Peter the Great have always intrigued readers, whether Russian or foreign. Next to Catherine the Great he seems to be most fascinating to English readers in particular. He was, of course, a sort of Bolshevik on the throne. "As a ruler," wrote Klyuchevsky, "Peter knew neither moral nor political restraints, and lacked the most elementary political and social principles" (p. 54). He was certainly the most uncouth and arbitrary despot in the eighteenth century, as this study clearly reveals. As such he perhaps did more harm than good for his country.

It is regrettable that the translator's editorial notes are in many instances misleading and inaccurate. She identifies Cyril Naryshkin, Peter's grand-father, as "a landowner in a remote part of Russia" (p. 1n), whereas the Naryshkins were boyars since the middle of the sixteenth century and quite wealthy. She explains that "Pustozersk, afterwards called Kola, is near Archangel in North-Western Russia" (p. 2n), whereas it was called Pustozersk as late as 1900 and is located about five hundred miles as the crow flies north-east of Archangel, while Kola, founded in the thirteenth century near the present Murmansk, is about one thousand miles north-west of Archangel. She translates the village Preobrazhenskoye as Preobrazhensky throughout the book, speaks of "the Patriarch of the Troitsa Monastery" (p. 8) whereas it should be "abbot," translates *samogon* as "corn brandy" (p. 44) whereas it should be "home brew"; asserts that the tsarevich Dimitri was "murdered" (p. 85n), whereas modern historians, such as G. Vernadsky, have disproved this popular assertion; calls the Code of 1649 as "the first Russian attempt at codification" (p. 112n), whereas the first such attempt was the *Stoglav* of 1555; states that "Peter frequently used German names for the newly

"invented offices" (p. 185n), whereas he borrowed his terminology from the Dutch and not the Germans. On the whole the book would be better without such editorial notes.

LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY

The University of Toronto

Socialism in One Country, 1924-1926: Volume I. A History of Soviet Russia. By EDWARD HALLETT CARR. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1958. Pp. x, 557. \$9.00.

FOR OVER A DECADE E. H. Carr has devoted himself to his vast study, *A History of Soviet Russia*, and has thus far produced five volumes, or about 2,300 pages. The whole project is a fine monument to the erudition, the endurance, and the insight of its author, and it will surely remain a unique and indispensable part of any bibliography on Russia since 1917. But it is not likely to find a place among the great surveys of national histories. Its great merits notwithstanding, *A History of Soviet Russia* is not a general history, but rather a specialized study of Bolshevik policy, a topic central to the history of the U.S.S.R. but far from identical to it.

Understood in this sense, volume I of *Socialism in One Country 1924-1926* is a splendid contribution. The first of three volumes on this period, it contains sections on "Background" and "The Economic Revival," leaving the political struggle and foreign affairs to succeeding volumes. Many readers will particularly welcome the section on background. In addition to a stimulating speculative sally on the universal pattern of revolution and post-revolutionary return to tradition, there are concise discussions of social and cultural development, the sociology of the party, and the character of five leading Bolsheviks. In a study that has not stressed individual men, or social and cultural affairs, all of this is most welcome. But Mr. Carr returns to what he obviously considers that real crux of his task in the latter and larger portion of the book, which deals with economic matters. With masterly use of Soviet periodicals and party documents, he unfolds the development of an economic policy increasingly and inevitably directed toward the surge of the Five-Year Plans. In this, as in his discussion of cultural development and personalities, Mr. Carr seems to be building up support for the thesis that "Few great men have been so conspicuously as Stalin the product of the time and place in which they lived." It will be interesting to see how this theme is developed in later volumes, concerning events in which it may be difficult to deny Stalin a central and decisive rôle in history.

ROBERT H. MCNEAL

The University of Alberta

Smolensk Under Soviet Rule. By MERLE FAINSOD. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Company Limited]. 1958. Pp. xii., 484. \$10.25.

PROFESSOR MERLE FAINSOD's *Smolensk under Soviet Rule* is a noteworthy book. When, in 1941, the Germans captured that city, they found intact the Party archives for the period from 1917 to 1938. Part of the collection, some 500 files or 200,000 pages of documents, selected rather at random, was shipped to Germany to fall eventually into American hands. It is these documents that provide the very rich and varied material for Professor Fainsod's study of Smolensk

under Soviet Rule. Smolensk, in this context, means not only the city but also and primarily a large administrative area the precise dimensions of which changed more than once in the stretch of time from the October Revolution to the late thirties.

The narrative is divided into three parts. First comes "The Background" which includes a discussion of the Smolensk Archive and brief accounts of both the general development of the Soviet Union during the period in question and of the history of Smolensk. The next section, "The Pattern of Controls," chapters 2-9 inclusive, deals with the Party and the governmental organization in the area, ranging in focus from the Smolensk headquarters to the *raion* and even the village and containing separate descriptions of "the organs of state security" and of "the machinery of justice." Finally, "Part Three: The Impact of Authority" devotes its fourteen chapters successively to the following subjects: crime in Smolensk—from the police records; purges and people; the story of collectivization; life on the kolkhozes—some extracts from reports; the M.T.S.—the spearhead of control; the state farms—the problems of control and management; the grievances of industrial workers; the Party and the armed forces; party controls and higher education; censorship—a documented record; the right of petition—letters to the press and Party headquarters; the Komsomols; the godly and the godless; and the conclusion—Smolensk as a mirror of Soviet reality. The volume includes a Bibliographical Note, a Glossary, an Index, six charts, three tables, three maps, and partial reproductions of a series of documents. It is well arranged and attractively presented, in spite of a number of misprints, some unfortunate transliterations and a few mistakes in Russian usage.

Professor Fainsod marshals his precious materials with expert skill. In less than five hundred pages he successfully paints a remarkably full, many faceted and thoroughly documented picture of Soviet Smolensk, and above all of the people under communism. The account is all the more impressive because the Smolensk area should be fairly representative of huge and backward rural Russia and because, on the other hand, communism tends to produce certain similar results no matter where it is applied. One might perhaps regret that this uniquely well-documented study adds very little that is new to such basic works on the Soviet Union as Professor Fainsod's own *How Russia Is Ruled*. But this only emphasizes the reliability and value of both the basic general works and the present volume.

NICHOLAS V. RIASANOVSKY

The University of California
Berkeley

The Last Tudor King: A Study of Edward VI. By HESTER W. CHAPMAN. London: Jonathan Cape [Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited]. 1958. Pp. 304.
\$5.75.

EDWARD VI, who became king in 1547 at the age of nine, was an extremely intelligent, accomplished, and beautiful boy:

likely, had he been put on
To have proved most royally.

Properly put on, that is, for he died of tuberculosis when he was fifteen, in 1553. His tutor, John Cheke (Provost of King's College, Cambridge), observed that in his "mind God hath powered so much hope for a child, as we may look for gifts in a man." His doctor, too, thought of him as "a boy of wondrous hope"—though this tribute was tempered by the melancholy reflection that "it would have been

better, I think, for this boy not to have been born." Another comment came from Bishop Hooper: "If he lives, he will be the wonder and terror of the world." Coming from such a radical Protestant, the supposition is interesting.

Miss Chapman has written an extremely good biography. She acknowledges an especial double debt, to the historian Christopher Morris, and the novelist Rosamond Lehmann. The threads interweave very attractively in this, her fourth historical biography (she has also written eight novels). Her style is imaginative, but always distinguished and controlled—far from the cheapness of a Thomas Costain. She has a real feeling for the personality of Edward, his "serene and gentle sweetness of spirit," though not so much feeling for his times. She is bored by theology, and this, as religion was "Edward's chief concern" (among his last works was a set of verses on the Real Presence), leaves us in the air at some points. But nowadays of course it is considered rather improper for historians of the Reformation period to care much about theology. Such things apart, this is a valuable book. At her best Miss Chapman reminds one of C. V. Wedgwood, and, for a lady historian, there is not much higher praise than that.

H. C. PORTER

The University of California
Berkeley

John, King of England. By JOHN T. APPLEBY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf [Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited]. 1959. Pp. xiv, 320, xv. \$5.50.

THE AIM OF Mr. Appleby is to present a chronological life of King John that will appeal to the general reader. This life he bases upon the chroniclers, especially Roger of Wendover, whom he supplements slightly with the Close and Patent Rolls. One might criticize Mr. Appleby for his omission of all references: one must criticize him for blindly accepting as fact even the most curious statements of Roger of Wendover, a chronicler whose unreliability was exposed by Professor V. H. Galbraith in his *Lectures on the David Murray Foundation* (1944). Mr. Appleby repeats the discredited story of the exchequer official who was starved to death wearing a lead cope and sees John's curious lethargy at Caen in 1202-3 as acceptance that Normandy was irretrievably lost. A glance at the patent rolls, as A. L. Poole notes in his *From Domesday to Magna Charta* (1951), shows that John was straining every nerve to control his government at home and to hold his duchy.

This book contributes nothing new on John's reign or character. It omits some known facts, such as John's stay as an oblate in the abbey of Fontevrault while a young child. The general reader will emerge with no clear picture of the personality of John.

F. D. BLACKLEY

The University of Alberta

Noted

A Directory of the Members of the Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia, 1758-1958. Introduction by C. BRUCE FERGUSON. Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1958. Pp. viii, 519.

THIS IS AN excellent reference work, which could profitably be imitated by other provinces. The bulk of the volume is a biographical dictionary of every member

of the Assembly arranged alphabetically. But the value of the book is increased by three Appendices giving a list of the members of every Assembly, a breakdown by constituencies, and a list of Premiers since 1848. One wishes only that a fourth Appendix had been included on Nova Scotia's representatives in the House of Commons and Senate.

North-West of 16. By J. G. MACGREGOR. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited. 1958. Pp. 224. \$4.00.

A VIVID DESCRIPTION of pioneer settlement in northern Alberta before the First World War. The author traces his family's experiences during his childhood in opening up a quarter-section in the bush north of Edmonton—the North-West of Sixteen. A nostalgic, imaginative reconstruction rather than formal history or even personal memoir, it nevertheless effectively depicts the first twenty years of settlement in the area, and makes a lively story, attractively told.

Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History. Edited by JAMES MORTON SMITH. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. 1959. Pp. xvi, 238. \$5.00.

THIS VOLUME is composed of nine essays originally delivered at a symposium on seventeenth century American history in 1957. Oscar Handlin contributed a general discussion of the century and Richard Dunn an article on seventeenth century English historians of America. Two essays concern the Indian problem, two social history, and three church and state relations.

Issues and Conflicts: Studies in Twentieth Century American Diplomacy. Edited by GEORGE L. ANDERSON. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press. 1959. Pp. x, 374. \$5.00.

THIS IS A heterogeneous collection of essays originally delivered at a symposium on modern American foreign policy. Free to choose their own subjects, the authors ranged over a wide field, but, significantly perhaps, none of them approached Canadian-American relations or even the North Atlantic Alliance. Seven papers deal with regional subjects; five of them are concerned with onetime colonial areas. The other eight essays move from detailed studies of the Kellogg Pact or the Nuremberg Trials to broad interpretative studies such as James C. Mailin's discussion of the brain versus geography as the pivot of modern history.

American Jewry, Documents: Eighteenth Century. Edited by JACOB RADER MARCUS. Cincinnati: The Hebrew Union College Press. 1959. Pp. xx, 492. \$8.50.

PROFESSOR MARCUS has used a wide net and has included a good deal of material on Canada. Only one entry deals with the French period and concerns Abraham Gradis, who in 1748 formed the Society of Canada with Intendant Bigot. With the Conquest, however, the picture changes as a number of Jews come with the British army as sutlers and stay to engage in the fur trade, the grain trade, and general merchandising—among them Abram, Jacobs, Hart, Solomons, Levy,

Hays, and other prominent figures of post-Conquest Canada. Some of the sources are Canadian of a wide variety and location. The mention of American sources might suggest fruitful areas of research unknown to most Canadian historians.

The Foundations of Capitalism. By OLIVER C. COX. Foreword by HARRY ELMER BARNES. New York: Philosophical Library. 1959. Pp. xxi, 500. \$7.50.

PROFESSOR COX, a sociologist, has written a provocative study of the origin and development of capitalistic society. Part I deals with Venice, Florence, Genoa, the Hanseatic League, and Holland; Part II with the evolution of capitalism in the age of the nation, mercantilism, and industrialism, with particular emphasis on Britain. The author's chief concern is "with the structural designs of capitalist societies, their integration in a worldwide system, and their cultural potentialities." Professor Cox is sympathetic towards the system he is describing.

Latin American History: A Guide to the Literature in English. By R. A. HUMPHREYS. Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. London and Toronto: Oxford University Press. 1958. Pp. xiv, 198. \$3.75.

THIS IS MORE than an excellent bibliography. It is truly a guide. Important general works and articles are briefly discussed, while others are simply listed. The excellent organization and table of contents make possible the immediate location of sources.

Strasbourg in Transition, 1648-1789. By FRANKLIN L. FORD. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press [Toronto: S. J. Reginald Saunders and Company Limited]. 1958. Pp. xx, 321, map. \$8.75.

FROM IMPERIAL FREE CITY to Bourbon fortress to symbol of French patriotism; twice reincorporated in the German Reich; twice regained by the French Republic; the city of Strasbourg once again, in an era when Franco-German nationalism has been "at least muted by economic and military necessity," appears as the composite symbol of European civilization it was under the old régime. In this carefully constructed volume Professor Ford has written a judicious account of this border community, where the Marseillaise was sung two centuries ago as *Vorwärts! Vorwärts!* He concentrates on the period from the accession of Louis XIV to the outbreak of the Great Revolution, when the introduction of new French elements and their interweaving with older German ones was most marked. It is local history, but of an especially significant variety.

The Vichy Regime, 1940-1944. By ROBERT ARON, in collaboration with GEORGETTE ELGEY. Translated by HUMPHRY HARE. London: Putnam [Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Limited]. 1958. Pp. viii, 536. \$8.25.

WHEN GEORGES BIDAULT invited de Gaulle to proclaim the Republic on August 25, 1944, the General refused. "The Republic has never ceased to exist. Vichy was and remains *nul et non avenu.*" This short but revealing reply refused all legitimacy, even all reality to the Vichy episode. But it could not erase the tragic history

here recounted in the translated and slightly abridged version of Aron's *Histoire de Vichy* (1955). Inevitably the story centres around the aged Pétain and the scheming Laval, both, in their own way, and with their shortcomings, striving to ensure the survival of France.

Unholy Alliance: Russian-German Relations from the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk to the Treaty of Berlin. By GERALD FREUND. Introduction by J. W. WHEELER-BENNETT. London: Chatto and Windus [Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited]. 1957. Pp. xx, 283. \$5.75.

AN IMPORTANT ACCOUNT of the relations between the two countries who, after November, 1917, were outcasts from the respectable family of western nations, and thrown together by their *Schicksalsgemeinschaft* in a close (if uneasy) partnership which endured until Locarno enabled Germany to resume her traditional policy of balancing between East and West in order to strengthen her own middle position. It is based on a careful examination of the sources, including the Seeckt, Groener, and Stresemann papers. But in an area which is the subject of intensive research by many hands it is perhaps inevitable that some of Freund's conclusions have already to be modified.

The Political System of Napoleon III. By THEODORE ZELDIN. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. [Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited]. 1958. Pp. x, 196. \$4.75.

AN INTERESTING and useful attempt to discover who were the supporters of Napoleon III (especially in his legislatures), and so to see where were the real foundations of his power and to explain the transformation of authoritarian into liberal government. Based on a wide range of unpublished sources, including the archives of the prefects in the provinces, it argues that the Second Empire was "an alliance of old and new forces," and that the seed of the liberal empire was within it from the start.

Graduate Theses in Canadian History and Related Subjects

THE *Canadian Historical Review* presents herewith its thirty-second annual list of graduate theses which are in course of preparation or have recently been completed. Included in the list are titles not only in Canadian history but also in such related subjects as Canada's external relations, Canadian economics, law, and geography, and a selection of historical titles which bear indirectly rather than directly on Canadian history.

We wish to express our appreciation of the generous co-operation which we have received from a large number of universities throughout the Commonwealth, the United States, and Canada, in the compilation of this information. We shall be very grateful to have mistakes or omissions drawn to our attention.

Theses for the Doctor's Degree

- HARRY F. BANGSBERG, B.A. Luther 1950; M.A. Iowa 1951; Ph.D. 1957. The Colombo Plan, 1950-56. *Iowa*.
- MILTON F. BAUER, B.A. Western Ontario 1947; M.A. Toronto 1949. The Credit Union movement in the province of Quebec. *Chicago*.
- B. C. BICKERTON, B.A. Acadia 1952; M.A. 1954. Scottish emigration, 1829-41. *Cambridge*.
- JEROME W. BLOOD. The French Canadians and the American Revolution. *Columbia*.
- F. W. P. BOLGER, B.A. St. Dunstan's 1947; M.A. Toronto 1956; Ph.D. 1959. Prince Edward Island and Confederation. *Toronto*.
- M. J. BOOTE, B.A. Wales 1950. Certain taxation aspects of corporate finance in Canada. *McGill*.
- D. BOUSQUET, B.A. McGill 1948; M.A. 1951; Ph.D. 1953. Commonwealth history since 1887. *Cambridge*.
- WILBUR F. BOWKER, B.A. Alberta 1930; LL.B. 1932; LL.M. Minnesota 1953. The Supreme Court of Canada. *Yale*.
- CHANDLER BRAGDON, B.A. Cambridge 1931; M.A. 1934. Canadian reactions to the foreign policy of the United States, 1934-41. *Rochester*.
- R. C. BROWN, B.A. Rochester 1957; M.A. Toronto 1958. Canadian-American relations in the latter part of the nineteenth century. *Toronto*.
- A. A. BURNETT, B.Sc. McGill 1955; M.A. 1956. Financing municipal government in Canada. *McGill*.
- K. J. CABLE, B.A. Sydney 1950; M.A. 1952; B.A. Cambridge 1954. The development of university education in the British Empire, 1815-80. *Cambridge*.
- LOVELL C. CLARK, B.A. Queen's 1949; M.A. 1950. The eclipse of Canadian Conservatism, 1891-1901. *Toronto*.
- G. RAMSAY COOK, B.A. Manitoba 1954; M.A. Queen's 1956. Political ideas of J. W. Dafoe. *Toronto*.
- BROOKE CORNWALL, B.A. British Columbia 1949; M.A. 1952. The geographical regions of the Canadian cordillera. *Clark*.
- HARRY SHERMAN CROWE, B.A. Manitoba 1947; M.A. Toronto 1948. The state and economic life in Canada. *Columbia*.

- JAMES A. CROWLEY, Ph.D. Ottawa 1958. Sir Robert Borden: The motivation behind the introduction of conscription and the formation of the Union Government, 1917. *Ottawa*.
- PAUL E. CRUNICAN, B.A. Western Ontario 1948; M.A. Toronto 1956. The Manitoba Schools question and Canadian federal politics. *Toronto*.
- R. STANLEY CUMMING, B.A. Dalhousie; M.A. McGill. The timber trade between Great Britain and the Canadian Maritime Provinces, 1809-54. *Oxford*.
- ROBERT A. DAVIS, B.A. Toronto 1948; M.A. Syracuse 1950. The Mississauga corridor: A study of the special arrangement of central places in the southern part of the province of Ontario. *Clark*.
- GRANT R. DAVY, B.A. Western Ontario 1949; A.M. Fletcher School 1950. Canadian policy on disarmament, 1945-55. *Fletcher School*.
- THOMAS FLOWERS DICKSON, A.B. Erskine 1947; M.A. South Carolina 1951. United States trade relations with the British North American colonies, 1815-30. *South Carolina*.
- E. G. DRAKE, B.A. Saskatchewan 1950; M.A. 1951. Walter Scott's career as Premier of Saskatchewan, 1905-16. *Toronto*.
- IAN M. DRUMMOND, Ph.D. Yale 1959. Capital markets in Australia and Canada, 1895-1914: A study in colonial economic history. *Yale*.
- WILLIAM MALCOLM DRUMMOND, B.A. Queen's 1923; M.A. Toronto 1924; A.M. Harvard 1951; Ph.D. 1955. Agriculture in Newfoundland. *Harvard*.
- E. L. EAGER, B.A. Saskatchewan 1947; M.A. Toronto 1949; Ph.D. 1958. The government of Saskatchewan. *Toronto*.
- JOHN F. EARL, B.A. Western Ontario 1950; M.A. 1952. Analysis of post-war Canadian trade with Western Europe. *Clark*.
- D. K. FAIRBANKS, B.Sc. McGill 1949; M.A. 1950. Foundations for agricultural policy. *McGill*.
- D. F. FOSTER, B.A. Toronto 1956; A.M. Harvard 1958. Origins and development of Canadian combines policy. *Harvard*.
- ALLAN M. FRASER, M.A. Edinburgh 1928. History of Newfoundland from the suspension of Dominion status to unity with Canada. *Columbia*.
- M. G. FRY, B.Sc. London 1956. Anglo-American-Canadian relations, with special reference to Far Eastern and naval issues, 1918-22. *London*.
- J. A. GALBRAITH, B.Com. McGill 1948; M.Com. 1950. A study of Canadian banking. *McGill*.
- JOHN GARNER, B.A. Toronto 1942; M.A. 1948; Ph.D. 1958. Franchise in Canada to Confederation. *Toronto*.
- IRVING JAY GOFFMAN, B.A. McGill 1954; A. M. Duke 1957; Ph.D. 1959. Erosion of the personal income tax base in Canada and the United States. *Duke*.
- SAUL W. GREY, A.B. Brooklyn College 1952; A.M. Fletcher School 1955. Canada and NATO: A study of one country's approach to collective security. *Fletcher School*.
- GERTRUDE E. GUNN, B.A. New Brunswick 1955; M.A. 1956; Ph.D. London 1958. A political history of Newfoundland, 1832-61. *London*.
- B. E. HANDREN. British public opinion and national policy, 1812-1815, on American issues, with special reference to treaties of peace and commerce with the United States. *Edinburgh*.
- F. J. HAYES, B.Sc. London 1948; M.Com. McGill 1956. The pulp and paper industry in Canada. *McGill*.
- WELF H. HEICK, B.A. Western Ontario 1953. Alexander MacKenzie: Study in Canadian politics and administration. *Duke*.
- MAURICE HÉROUX, B.A. Montreal 1951; M.A. 1952. Canadian outlooks on foreign policy matters, 1914-23. *Georgetown*.
- BRUCE W. HODGINS, B.A. Western Ontario 1953; M.A. Queen's 1955. John Sanfield Macdonald: A study in Canadian politics and administration. *Duke*.
- REGINALD HORSMAN, Ph.D. Indiana 1958. The causes of the War of 1812. *Indiana*.
- WILLIAM H. N. HULL, B.A. Western Ontario 1951; M.A. 1955. A comparative study of radio and television broadcasting in Canada and Australia with special reference to the problems of ministerial responsibility and public accountability. *Duke*.

- CHARLES W. HUMPHRIES, B.A. McMaster 1954; M.A. Toronto 1959. John Strachan and politics in Upper Canada. *Toronto*.
- JAMES DONALD JOHNSON, B.A. Jamestown College 1950; A.M. North Dakota 1952; A.M. Michigan 1957. Pressure groups in the Canadian House of Commons. *Michigan*.
- JAMES WILSON JOHNSON, Ph.D. Indiana 1958. Succession duties in Canada. *Indiana*.
- RICHARD NORMAN KOTTMAN, Ph.D. Vanderbilt 1958. The diplomatic relations of the United States and Canada, 1927-1941. *Vanderbilt*.
- A. F. LAIDLAW, B.A. St. Francis Xavier 1929; M.A. 1932; B.Paed. 1940; Ed.D. Toronto 1958. The campus and the community. *Toronto*.
- A. W. LANE, B.A. McGill 1947. The transportation policies of the federal government during the 1920's. *McGill*.
- LAURIER L. LAPIERRE, B.A. Toronto 1955; M.A. 1957. The career of Joseph Israel Tarte. *Toronto*.
- JAMES P. LOVEKIN, B.A. Toronto 1946; M.A. 1949; B.Ed. 1954. A study of a typical Ontario community, Durham County. *Queen's*.
- H. IAN MACDONALD, B.Com. Toronto 1952; B.A. Oxford 1954; B.Phil. 1955; M.A. 1958. Foreign investment in Canada since 1926 and its relation to Canadian economic development. *Oxford*.
- MALCOLM MACDONELL, B.A. St. Francis Xavier 1938; M.A. Toronto 1945. The administration of Sir John Harvey in the Maritime Provinces. *Toronto*.
- JOSEPH E. MCGURN, A.B. Hobart 1950; M.A. 1951. Canadian opinion about United States foreign policy 1914-20. *Rochester*.
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NOTICE in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review.

The following abbreviations are used: *B.R.H.*—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*; *C.H.R.*—*Canadian Historical Review*; *C.J.E.P.S.*—*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*; *R.H.A.F.*—*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*.

See also *Canadiana*, a monthly list of Canadian publications prepared by the National Library, Ottawa; *External Affairs*, published monthly by the Department of External Affairs; *Journal of the Parliaments of the Commonwealth*, issued quarterly by the General Council of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association; and, in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*, "Letters in Canada," published in the July issue.

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Notes and Comments

BOURDON PLANS, 1635-42

AN IMPORTANT ADDITION to the early history of Canada, the Jean Bourdon Plans of 1635-42, recently came to light at a private library sale in Europe and were purchased by McGill University. Because of their importance the University Library decided to publish 250 facsimile copies at once. The plans are presented in their exact dimensions "and the utmost care has been taken of the fidelity of reproduction in a faded ink and in faint crayon tints." Bourdon was for a time Surveyor-General and it was in that capacity that he drew up the plans. The plans of Quebec date from 1635, while that of Montreal has been dated 1642, the year of the first settlement. A third plan is of the first Richelieu fort, the only such plan yet discovered. Numbered folio copies (8×16) may be ordered from the McGill University Library. The price is \$12.50.

PERSONAL ITEMS

The *Canadian Historical Review's* annual list of personal notes on new appointments, promotions, retirements, honours, etc., will not appear in this issue. The Editor would like to thank all those who kindly contributed information of this nature in answer to requests from the *Review*. Unfortunately this information was stolen from the Editor, along with several reviews and articles. The Editor asks new appointees to advise him of special fields in which they would be interested in reviewing books.

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